Jun. 21. 1728.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,

E Libris Gul: Trevor July 25th 1741.

From the year 1423, until the year 1542.

CONTAINING

The LIVES and REIGNS

OF

JAMES

The I. the II. the III. the IV. the V.

With several

Memorials of State,

During the Reigns of *James* VI. and *Charles* I.

Illustrated with their EFFIGIES in Copper Plates;

By WILLIAM DRUMMOND of *Hauthornden.*

With a Prefatory INTRODUCTION taken out of the Records of that Nation, by Mr. *Hall* of *Grays-Inn.*

The Second Edition, with a Brief Account of the Authors life.

LONDON,

Printed for *Tho. Fabian* at the Sign of the *Bible* in St. *Pauls* Church-Yard, a Corner shop next *Cheapside.* 1682.


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HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND
DURING THE REIGNS OF
JAMES V.
AND
MARY.
Chiefly from Original Manuscripts.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

TO *ſpeak in Commendation of* Hiſtory *in general, were ſo many ways ſuperfluous, that we ſhall rather leave it to the experience of ſober and inquiſitive minds, than injure the High* Elogiums *given of both the greateſt and wiſeſt* Ancients *and* Moderns, *by a diſadvantagious Repetition of them. And for to ſay any thing concerning the Countrey, which was the Scene of the actions here repreſented, we conceive it needleſs and improper, in regard we are immured by one Sea, breath one air, ſpeak one Tongue, and now cloſed together by an happy Coalition under one Government.*

The proper work therefore is to offer what can be ſaid of the Hiſtory *and the* Author,

and ſo diſmiſs the Reader *to the Entertainment of the Book it ſelf. For his manner of Writing, though he treat of things that are rather many, than great, and troubleſome, than glorious, yet he hath brought ſo much of the main together, as it may be modeſtly ſaid, none of that Nation hath done before him: And for his way of handling it, he hath ſufficiently made it appear, how converſant he was with the Writings of Venerable Antiquity, and how generouſly he hath emulated them by an happy imitation; for the purity of his Language is much above that Dialect he writ in; his Deſcriptions lively and full, his Narrations clear and pertinent, his Orations Eloquent, and fit for the perſons that ſpeak (for that ſince* Livi's *time was never accounted Crime in an* Hiſtorian) *and his Reflections ſolid and mature; ſo that it cannot be expected that theſe leaves can be turned over without as much pleaſure as profit, eſpecially frequently meeting with ſo many Glories and Trophies of our Anceſtours; yet becauſe either of theſe may a little abate, in reſpect the beginning ſeems a little abrupt and precipitious (the Author poſſibly dying before he could prepare an* Apparatus *or* Introduction *we have taken the pains, out of other Records of that Nation, to draw a brief Repreſentation of ſome paſſages neceſſary to be foreknown.*

The direct Royal Line of Scotland *failing in* Alexander III. (*Son of the* II. *of that name*) *who*

who when he a few years before had loſt both his wife, and all his hopeful and numerous iſſue, nothing remaining of it, ſaving a Girl to his Daughter, brought to Hungoman *King of* Norway. *The Nobility hereupon meet at* Scone, *and put the Kingdom into the hands of ſix Perſons.* Edward *of* England *ſends to demand the Daughter Grand-child in marriage, as next Heir of the Crown. This was agreed unto, Embaſſadours ſent for her, but the death of the Lady fruſtrated all that Negotiation. The death of this* Margaret (*ſo was ſhe called*) *was the firebrand that ſet* England *on fire, and had almoſt deſtroyed* Scotland; *For two Competitors declared themſelves both powerful and of great Eſtates in* Scotland, *and ſtrongly ſupported with Forrein Confederacies, for* John Baliol *had engaged the* Engliſh *Intereſt, and* Robert Bruce *the* French: *But to be a little clearer we muſt look back; The line thus failing they were forced to run back to the line of* David *Earl of* Huntington *Brother to King* William; *this* David *by his wife* Maud *Daughter to the Earl of* Cheſter. *had three Daughters,* Margaret, *married to* Allan *of* Galloway, *the ſecond, to* Robert Bruce *ſirnamed the* Noble, *the third, to* Henry Haſtings *Earl of* Huntington, *who made no claim. Now thus it ſtood,* Dornagil, (*the wife of* Baliol) *claim'd it as grand-child by the Eldeſt Daughter, and* Bruce *as great Grand-child by*

the ſecond, ſaying, It was not fit that Daughters ſhould inherit when there were Sons to repreſent the Anceſtor; Baliol *he was neerer, as being in the ſecond degree, and the other but in the third: The Controverſie growing high and boyſterous, and the Power and Intereſts of both parties at home being equally formidable and dangerous, they reſolved to refer it to King* Edward. *who coming to* Berwick *and calling Lawyers to his Aſſiſtance, pretends all Equity, but rais'd up eight other petty Competitors, the better to weaken the claim of the other two, and ſo handled the buſineſs whilſt the Lawyers were ſlowly conſulting, that* (Bruce *having refuſed to accept the Crown in Homage and Tribute from* England) *he declared* (*upon his acceptance of thoſe conditions*) JOHN BALIOL *to be King, who was Crowned at* Scone. *But ſoon after an appeal being made againſt him to king* Edward *by* Macduff *Earl of* Fife, *and he refuſing to riſe from the Seat where he ſate to anſwer, but being inforced by the King ſo to do, became ſo aliened in his affections from the* Engliſh, *that a new quarrel breaking out between the* French *and the* Engliſh, *and both by their Embaſſadours Courting the* Scottiſh *Amity, it was reſolved to adhere to the* French, *and renounce the Homage to* England, *as obtained by Fraud and Force*; Edward *enraged at this* (*having obtained a Truce for ſome few Moneths with*

the

the French) *aſſails* Berwick *by Sea, but with ſome loſs, which enflames him the more, ſummons* Baliol, *who refuſes, proffers it to* Bruce, *takes* Berwick *by Stratagem, enters* Scotland, *maſters the Countrey, takes* Edinburgh *and* Sterlin, *and forces* Baliol *to a ſurrender at* Forfar, *and ſends him Priſoner to* London, *whither himſelf returns, having made moſt of the Nobility do Homage, and left the Earl of* Surrey *his Deputy.* Baliol *ſoon after is ſent into* France, *leaving his Son* Edward *as Hoſtage for his fidelity.* Edward *ſets ſail for* France, *the* Scots *riſe and make ſome little Incurſions into the Borders; But about this time Sir* William Wallas *aroſe, who, to his Honour, did ſo Heroically defend his Countrey in her weakeſt condition, as made it eaſily appear, if he had had as happy a fortune to advance, as he had a miſerable to relieve, he might have been remembred for as great a man as ever was in any age, for having upon a quarrel ſlain a young* Engliſh *Gentleman, and enforced to lurk in the Hills for the ſafety of his life, he became inured to ſuch hardneſs, that awaking his natura Courage, he became the head of all the Male-contents, and filled both the Kingdoms with his Reputation and Terror, and behaving himſelf according to expectation, glean'd up to a tumultuary Army, and (the Nobility being either ſloathful or cowardly) commanded as* Baliols *Vice-Roy; Thus after ſome little skir-*

miſhes, he reduced all beyond the Forth, *took* Dundee, Aberdeen, *and other places, when there arrived rumour of an* Engliſh *Army, which he was not willing to diſpute with, but upon his own Terms.* Edward *that had fortified all the Conſiderable places, and kept the chiefeſt of the Nobles as Honorable Priſoners in* England, *had with-drawn his Army, as thinking all ſecure, ſends the Lord* Henry Percey *with ſtrong aſſiſtance to joyn with his Officers there (for he had heard of the Reputation of* Wallas) *who endeavouring to paſs the* Forth, *the Bridge breaking, received a conſiderable loſs, which gave* Wallas *time to reduce the reſt of the Countrey;* Wallas *then enters* England, *and for ſome time ravages, and returns without oppoſition; and this Fame of his, brought upon him the Envy of the Noblemen, and brought* Edward *with an Army haſtily gathered together at* Stainmore, *from whence after looking upon one another they departed without a Blow; from whence* Wallas *came to be rumoured as affecting the Royalty, and brought him ſuch envy among the* Bruces *and* Cumins, *that they were reſolved by any means ro ruin him, as diſdaining that the fortune of the Kingdom ſhould rely on ſo mean a perſon. But the* Engliſh *entring* Scotland *again with a great Army, and finding the* Scots *diſpoſed under three Leaders (who among themſelves diſputed Priority of Command) marcht*

marcht up to them, where they found the Cumins (*who Commanded one Brigade*) *depart without oppoſition; The* Stuarts (*who had another*) *being all cut to pieces, and* Wallas (*who had the third*) *forced to tetire to the River* Caroon. *Thus loſt* Wallas *his title and formal Army, whilſt with a Predatory Army he never left to infeſt the* Engliſh, *whilſt* Edward *regained the loſt places; but the* Scots *having in vain endeavoured Truce or Mediation, were reſolved to all put upon the Dy, and made a general inſurrection, to oppoſe which King* Edward *ſent* Ralph Coniers, *with a conſiderable Army to reduce the revolted places, and make an end of the War, but they, by a Triple Victory, were routed at* Roſlin *the* 10. *of* March 1302. Edward *ſtung with* 1302. *this, makes an other Entry, in which* Wallas *perpetually infeſted him, and again reduces the Countrey, all ſwearing allegiance at* Saint Andrews, *but* Wallas, *who returned into the* High-Lands. Edward *changing the Laws, carrying away all Records, and returning with all the Marks of any abſolute Conquerour, and among other Monuments the Stone called* Jacobs Stone, *in which our Kings have been ſince uſually Crowned. But there kindled another flame, for* Robert Bruce, *ſon of the other, and* John Cumin, *Couſen German of* John Baliol; *ſirnamed the* Red, *wearied by the delaies and unperformed promiſes of the*

King,

King, though Competitours, overcame their mutual jealouſies, & clos'd together, on condition that Bruce *ſhould have the Kingdom, and* Cumin *all* Bruces *lands; which agreement notwithſtanding* Cumin *was after ſaid to have communicated to* Edward; Bruce *hath notice, and, by ſhooing his horſes backward, eſcapes, and arriving at his Caſtle at* Lake Laban, *meets with* Cumins *Letters adviſing to cut him off, upon which he haſtens to* S. Jonſtowns, *& after exprobating his infidelity leaves him, in the* Franciſcan Monaſtery, *ſtab'd as dead; and after ſtab'd him out-right, with his brother* Robert. *About the ſame time* Wallas *was betrayed about* Glaſgow, *carried up to* London, *hanged, drawn, and quartered, and his limbs hung up in the moſt eminent places.*

And here (to digreſs a little) from theſe cruel carnages, might naturally ariſe ſome pretty queſtions, as, Where allegiance and obedience begins and determines? who are properly Rebels, or Lawful Enemies? how far the faith of a Nation, or particular men, are concluded in the Oath of their Prince to a Foreiner? and what Limits Conquerours ought to obſerve to Subjects, not naturally born ſo? and how far they, never compacting are oblig'd in the General Compact? But theſe being matters proper for the Civilians, and ſuch as cannot be included in the ſhortneſs of a Preface, or Rigor of an Epitome, we ſhall diſmiſs at this

this Time without any further diſquiſition. Onely at the preſent we will raiſe one Note from this Example of unfortunate Courage, How apt great minds are, even out of falſe appearances of good of their Countrey the moſt powerful charm upon the braveſt ſpirits) to ruſh upon the moſt violent and dangerous efforts, though it may be their Countrey, by a great deal of devaſtation and blood, be made a loſer by it; and ſome Territories are ſo ſeated, that it is the more happy for them to be under the ſhade and protection of a greater and more powerful, than be left naked to their own wants, and devaſtations of prevailing neighbours, under the Notion of preſerving an imaginary, Ancient, and National Liberty, which once launcht into, will prove no other than a willingneſs to ſhackles, and an obſtacle, and an obſtinacy to the advancement of the Commodities of life.

And again, let us obſerve what a ſtrange *Antiperiſtaſis* Oppreſſion and Calamity will make in any people, how inconſiderable heads, meeting with an humour of jealouſy, diſcontent and deſpair, ſwell into enormity, and become terrible to, nay oftentimes affront, legitimate force, whereas Nations wantoning in their delights and pleaſures (like ſtrong bodies without Exerciſe) forget, and weaken themſelves, whilſt their

ſtrength

ſtrength inſenſibly tranſpires and vaniſhes in the warmth of their fruitions.

But it is high time now to return unto

ROBERT BRUCE,

1306. *who having cauſed himſelf (after he had ſtayed for the Popes abſolution for the defiling the Monaſtery with the Murder of the* Cumins *to be Crowned K. at* Scone, *notwithſtanding his Endeavours at firſt to ſtrengthen himſelf, by the enmity of the* Cumins, *and timorouſneſs of his own Followers, was routed by* Edwards *Lievtenants, and forced to the Hills, and for a long time lurkt in great miſery, to the great ruine and ſlaughter of his Family and party; but making together ſome little force, took* Carrick *and* Innerneſs, *by ſurpriſal, and by this means augmented his Train; and withſtood the daring* Cumin *Earl of* Bughan; *who withſtood him with a Conſiderable ſtrength of* Engliſh *and* Scottiſh *forces, and though a Treaty were deſired, would not comply, growing numerous by the acceſſion of other conſiderable perſons.* Edward *the* I. *dying in an intended expedition thither left it to* Edward II. *his Son, who hearing ſome troubles in* France, *ſailed thither, and left behind him an Army, which notwithſtanding* Robert, *though ſick and forced to be held on horſeback,*

horſeback, defeated; this engaged Edward *to another Immemorable Expedition, and gave* Robert *time to take in the Remaining ſtrengths; but the next year, and within two years after, recovered the moſt conſiderable, and* Edinburgh *it ſelf, and a little after, by means of his Brother* Edward, Sterlin *upon Conditions.* Edward *thereupon enters with a great Army, and many forein auxiliaries; But had a great defeat at* Bannocksburn, *which occaſioned the loſs of* Berwick, *and* Bruces *confirmation in Parliament, the declaring of* Edward (*his Brother*) *to be heir, in caſe of* Robert's *want of iſſue Male, as alſo making of him King of* Ireland, *at the requeſt of ſome of the* Iriſh, *and though they furniſhed him with ſome forces for that attempt, yet in the Expedition he and all his followers were cut to pieces. Some few years after were ſpent in light skirmiſhes and incurſions, and* Thomas Randolph *obtained the battel called the* White, *and quieted the* Engliſh. Robert, *this time of Repoſe, conven'd the Nobles, intending to determine the right of inheritances, which many men had unjuſtly uſurped in the times of Rapine and Licence; This brooded a Conſpiracy, which being detected, a meeting was appointed at* Perth; *where, by the Conviction of their own Papers, many were executed, ſome pardon'd; but none drew more pity from the Beholders then* David Brechin, 1310.

the

the Kings Siſters Son, whoſe acquaintance, not concurrence, with the Plot was only Criminal. From whence we may conſider, That to be a Traitor, is not actually to engage in Treaſon, but to conceal it, is to foment it: for if in private Friendſhips it is infidelity not to reveal a danger to a friend, it holds ſtronger as to the Magiſtrate, who is not only our Common Friend, but our Parent and tutor; ſince the ſeeds of all Treaſons (like them of Vegetables, lurking quietly, and ariſing fruitfully) being cunningly manured, do, by the Co-operation of bad influences, grow up into poyſons, and threaten deſtruction, whereas the Sovereign Power, enlivening and piercing all, cheriſhes the more Noble things, and only diſcovers the imperfection of the meaner.

In the mean time a Legate coming from Rome, *armed with all the Thunderbolts of that See (whoſe force, even that age had wit enough to diſcern) to threaten them into a peace with* England, *but miſſing of his Errand, the* Scots *followed him with an Army, and marcht as far as* Stainmore. *The King of* England, *in revenge, raiſes an Army ſo potent and powerful, that it might be ſuppoſed they came for abſolute victory, not uncertain hazard.* Robert *therefore (like a wiſe Captain) conſidering that it was Stratagem not force, that muſt preſerve him ſafe from ſo great*

a ſtorm, cauſed all the Cattel to be carryed into the avious retreats of the Hills, leſt they might be ſerviceable to the Enemy, who, confident of their ſtrength, pierced Scotland, *and endeavoured to draw him and his Forces out of their Holes: But having waſted all about (ſparing only Churches) and wanting Victuals, were forced to retire.* Bruce, *knowing this diſorderly retreat, purſues them as far as* York, *and, by a great defeat, was Maſter of their Baggage, and ſome Conſiderable Priſoners; the great occaſion of which was imputed to Sir* Andrew Barcley, *Earl of* Carliſle, *who was therefore degraded. This begat two Embaſſyes, one to the Papacy, for a Reconciliation to it, and the other to* France, *for a Renovation of the old League, both which were obtained with equal eaſineſs, with this addition to the latter, That the King of* France *ſhould be Umpire in controverſies concerning the Crown of* Scotland. *About theſe times (ſays excellent* Buchanan) *the Family of the* Hamiltons (*ſince ſo great in* Scotland, *and pernicious to* England) *took their riſe, one of them upon a Quarrel and murder of an* Engliſh *Gentleman flying to* Robert *for Protection, who gave him lands, which retain the name to this day; the* Spenſers (*upon whoſe account this quarrel aroſe were ſoon after diſcompoſed, and ruined, and* Edward *himſelf dethroned, and (as it is ſaid) murthered at*

Pontfract

Pontfract *Caſtle, by means of his wife, and* Edward *his Son ſucceeded, the* III. *of that name;* Bruce *in the mean time, compoſing himſelf to the cares of Peace, by Act of Parliament ſettles the Inheritance of the Kingdom upon his Son (though a Child) and in caſe of his deceaſe, to* Robert Stuart *his Grandchild by his* Daughter, *and for preventing any pretences of* Baliol (*being then old and miſerable in* France) *a full releaſe of all his Claim;*
1320. *but the active young* Edward *filling them with the terrour of a new* Bruce, *repaired the defects of his age, and travels, by ſubſtituting* Thomas Randolph *his Vice-Roy, whom, with* James Dowglas, *he ſent with a flying Army of Horſe into* England, *the better to elude the prevailing force they were to expect, and it happened accordingly, for after tedious Marches, and hardſhips on both ſides, they parted without a ſtroke, ſaving onely that* Dowglas *with two hundred Horſe, beat up the Quarters of the* Engliſh *Camp, and cut (as is ſaid) two Ropes of the Kings Tent, and made a good Retreat; this begat a Truce for three years, and afterwards (1328) a diſhonorable Conceſſion on a Parliament at* Southampton *of all the* Scotiſh *priviledges, and independencies of that* Crown (*for which ſome after ſmarted*) *with the Conceſſion of ſome Counties, and Rendition of Monuments, the* Scots *paying thirty thouſand Marks:* Bruce *finding himſelf*

himſelf waſted by age and toil, left the Tuition of the Nonage of his Son to Randolph *and* Dowglaſs, *retiring himſelf to the Abby of* Kilroſs, *confirming the Settlement of the Kingdom upon his Son* David (*then 8 years old*) *and* Stuart, *as he had done before, leaving theſe three Counſels behind him* (Illuſtrious Spirits that have long moved in great Orbs, being beſt meaſured, when they are falling below their Horizon.) 1. *Not to let any man ſolely command the* Æbneæ. 2. *Never to put all their Strength at one hazard with the* Engliſh. 3. *Never to make long Truces with them. The firſt being to be feared by their power at Sea. The ſecond for the Fertility, Power and Numbers of the* Engliſh. *The third, to prevent the Enervation of a of a long Peace. Thus he dyed, leaving Charge with* Dowglas *to convey his heart to the* Holy Land (*whither himſelf had deſigned an Expedition*) *but* Dowglaſs, *aſſiſting them of* Arragon *againſt the* Sarazens, *was there cut to pieces: Thus ended the reign of* Robert Bruce. A Prince, that mounting the 1330.
Throne over the Carcaſſes of his neereſt kindred, encountring with the greateſt, difficulties and calamities of a country oppreſt by powerful and martial Enemies, bravely ſtruggled with the diſadvantages, and left behind him the Character of a great Captain, and a prudent Prince, and ſuch an one

as whoſe Reputation relies upon his ſingle virtue, unleſs you will ſay he had the aſſiſtance of the heads and hands of his Counſellors and Captains yet even in the chuſing of One, and the obeying the Other, it muſt be confeſt he was a man excellently ſquared out for government, and a man the moſt fit to arreſt our conqueſts in that Nation.

Yet, by the way, we ſhall take up one Remark, How much the fortune and reputation of any people, depends upon the Conduct of their Supreme Governour; and we cannot have better inſtance, than by reflecting upon the preceeding Hiſtory. *Edward* I. (worthily called *Coeur de Lion*) brought them in their greateſt power upon their knees; His Son (an effeminate and weak Prince, enchanted with Flatteries, and loſt in Softneſs) could not preſerve an acquired Dominion, but loſt it with ignominy; His ſon, for a time (which we muſt call his pupillage of War, he did ſuch wonders afterwards) was unſucceſsful, and all this through the Oppoſition, Courage and Conduct of one unfortunate perſon; And indeed, upon ſurvey of all Hiſtories, we ſhall find, that the ability and excellency of the Prince hath been the moſt powerful aſcendent of the Genius of a Nation, and that the Governing mind of the World, when ever it determines any to glorious actions, raiſes up

ſuch Leaders, as by their wiſdom, and example, may lead them to the performance of its own ſecret determinations.

And again, How infectious the example of a bad or weak Prince, which, like an unhappy contagion, perverts and infects the manners of a people, and ſo much the more eaſily ſeduces them, by howmuch the mind of man is inclinable to underſtand better things, and purſue the worſe, and moſt people are more eaſily emaſculated into Vice, than tutured into Virtue.

This Prince being gone to his long home,

DAVID BRUCE

His Son, ſucceeding, his Coronation was deferred till permiſſion could be had from Rome *to make the buſineſs more ſolemn. The firſt thing memorable in his reign was the ſuppreſſion of a ſort of Thieves, by* Randolph, *who if you will believe the* Scotiſh Story *was ſoon after poiſened by a Monk, yet bore it ſo, as he eluded another invaſion, though he died ſoon after in the year* 1331. *the Government devolving to the Earl of* Mar, *in which he was ſcarce warm, when news was brought that* Edward Baliol *was ſeen in the* Fryth *with a Formidable Fleet; And it was upon this occaſion,* Lawrence Twine, *a Fugitive* Engliſh-man, *that had planted himſelf in* Scotland, *being for his lewd life excommunicated, ſlew the* 1331

Biſhop of Final, *and uſed ſuch inducements to* Edward (*Son of* John Baliol, *formerly King*) *by the minority of the King, the raging diſcontents of the People and Exiles, the want of the Regents,* Randolf *and* Dowglaſs, *that he, knowing* Edward *prepared great Forces againſt* Scotland, *perſuaded him to imbarque in the Enterprize, and he made ſo good a Party, that he landed at* Kingkorn, *and defeated* Alexander Seatoun, *who made ſome oppoſition; and marching to* Perth, *did, by a ſecret paſſage over the River, rout the Enemy, ſlay the moſt conſiderable Commander, and take the Town, taking Priſoners alſo many of the beſt quality, ſo that growing numerous, by the acceſſion of ſuch as had a mind to ſhare in his good and unexpected Fortune, he*

1362. *in the year* 1332. *cauſed himſelf to be Crowned King at* Scone, *by the name of*

EDWARD BALIOL

But the party of the Bruces *not reſting here, ſend him to* Philip *of* France *with his wife, and chooſe* Andrew Murray, *his Couſen, Regent, and making a party, after three Moneths ſiege, recovered* Perth, Baliol *in the mean time was at Annandale, receiving the voluntary ſubmiſſion of the Country, among whom (ſo high was the Reputation of his Acqueſts) that* Alexander Bruce, *L. of* Carid *and Galloway, forſook his Kinſman, and ſubmitted to the Conquerour, who, by this means,*

became

became ſo beſotted with a contempt of the Enemy, and ſo neglected Diſcipline; which being known to the Vice-Roy, he ſent a party of Horſe under Archibald Dowglaſs, *and others, who beat up his quarters, and routed them, himſelf eſcaped half naked, and his moſt conſiderable Friends ſlain, The Nobility hereupon flocking to the Party of the* Bruces, *they conſult, and reſolve, that* Baliol *acts but the King of* England's *Deſigns, fortifie* Berwick *and the Borders, and ſtanding in this poſture of Defence, ſent to K.* Philip *and* David, *to give them account of things. Nor were the* Engliſh *unwilling to take the Advantage of the Diſcord, he therefore protects* Baliol, *and under pretence of demanding* Berwick, *which was denyed, brings an Army againſt* Scotland, *beſieges* Berwick *by Land and Sea, which to divert,* Archibald Dowglaſs, *newly appointed Vice-Roy, makes an attempt upon the* Engliſh, *but was routed with great loſs, in the year* 1333. *which occaſioned the Rendition of the Town,* Edward *hereupon withdrawing into* England, *leaves the reducement of* Scotland *to the care of* Baliol *and* Edward Talbot, *who gained it all except ſome few Strengths;* Baliol (*though diſturbed with a controverſie about the Lands of* John Moubray) *ſurveys the Countrey, fortifies the Caſtle of Rothſay, narrowly purſues* Robert Stuart (*after King*) *who in a ſmall bark eſcaped to the Gariſon of* 1332. 1333.

Dumbarton, & *after laies ſiege to the Caſtle in the Lake* Leven, *which he left to the Management of Sir* John Sterlin & *others, but* Sterlin *going to a Fair at* Dunfermling, *the beſieged let the Lake into his Trenches, and raiſed the ſiege. The* Engliſh *came in again with an Army, ſwept all, carryed* Balliol *home with them, and left* Cumin *Earl of* Athol, *Lievtenant of* Scotland, *who waſted all the Lands of the* Stuarts. *By this* Robert Stuart *unexpectedly breaks out, and being followed by the* Cambels, *takes the Caſtle of* Botan, *and having acceſs of many conſiderable perſons, is made Vice-Roy, and forces* Cumin *to his party, and diſperſing the War, called a Parliament at* Perth, *where nothing could be done by reaſon of the diſſention of* Cumin *and* Dowglaſs. *But the* Engliſh *enter with a great Army, and (though their Auxiliary* Guelders *were routed) take* Perth, *but their Fleet being harraſt at Sea, were forced to retreat, and the rather in deſign of a* French *War; but ſome of the Nobles ſtill ſtanding out, the* Engliſh *landing in* Murray *reduced all, and, leaving* Baliol, *return. Next year the* Engliſh *beſieged* Dumbar, *and ſent in two Parties under* Talbot
1337 *and* Monford, *which though they were both routed, yet the ſiege continued; but the* Engliſh *having received loſs by the valour of* Robert Stuart, *after ſix moneths ſtay, being called into* France, *raiſed their ſiege,* Murray

in

in the mean time dying, Stuart *was created Vice-Roy till the Return of David, and having the first year by the means of* W. Dowglass, *gained some petty Victories, did the next be-* 1339
siege Perth, *which after four Moneths stay was reduced, and a little after* Sterlin, *and (by Stratagem) the Castle of* Edinburgh; Alexander *making a happy Expedition into* Northumberland, *and taking* Roxburgh, *and the* Scots *regaining all their ground, except* Berwick. *In the year* 1342. David, *after* 9. *years stay, returns, and after quieting of some dissentions, resolves an expedition into* England, *though dissuaded by his Council, by reason of want of Victuals, making* John Randolph *General, himself going* incognito, *and for two Moneths together depopulated* Northumberland, *but after, declaring himself General, made a second Expedition, which met little opposition by reason of the diversion of the* English *strength in* France, *a third to as little purpose. A Peace for two years was treated of, which* David *would not accept, without the consent of* Philip *of* France, *who having a great defeat given him by* Edward, *excited him, by all means, to an invasion, which his friendship perswaded him to (though things at home were not in Order) and having Marcht so far as the County of* Durham, *had his Army routed, and was there taken Prisoner ; The* English *limits being enlarged as*

far as Cockburn; *and all* Scotland, *in a manner, depopulated by the Plague and deadly ſewds, yet by the encouragement of* John *Son of* Philip *the* French *King, ſome were ſtill making Incurſions, and an unſucceſsful attempt on* Berwick. *By this time* John *of* France *was Priſoner to* Edward, *whom the* Scots *courted as full of Honour and Victory, for the delivery of their own, who (by the Mediation of the Pope) for a great ſum of Money, was redeemed, and ſet free, after eleven years Captivity, and at his Return puniſhed ſome of thoſe who had deſerted him at* Durham, *and endeavoured to remove the ſucceſſion of the Crown, from* Robert Stuart, *to whom he was ſome years after reconciled. The laſt five years of his reign were ſpent in appeaſing domeſtick ſewds, and are notable for a great inundation and plague; but things quieting in the year* 1363. *he retired into a Monaſtery, and declared (in caſe of his deceaſe)* Edward, *or his Son, for their King. This, whether it was cauſed by ſome former Oath, or from wearineſs of War, or deſign of quiet to Both Nations, which being univerſally diſliked by the Eſtates it was like to breed a diſſention, which his wiſdome cloſed up. All was now quiet but the Highlanders, whom he appeaſed by their mutual diſcords; when Fate in the* 47. *year of his Age, and* 39 *of his Reign, came to Eternal Reſt, in the Caſtle of* Edinburgh, *in the year* 1370. By

By this King and his competitour *Baliol* (who went out in the ſnuff) we may in part meaſure the intereſts & advantages of Princes; the one by the aſiſtance of a Potent Neighbour did unexpected things, yet failed in Conduct and Managment; the other, wanting neither ſpirit nor vigilancy, became a Captive and ineffectual Prince; which may give us occaſion to obſerve, That tho Travel do beſt inrich the mind with variety of obſervation, yet it is not ſo ſucceſsful in Princes; for their Minds not being exempted from humane weakneſs, may draw in tinctures & prejudices not conſiſting with the humors of them they are to govern, and by knowing abroad grow ſtrangers at home, neglecting to ſtudy the humor of the People they are ſet over; the diſquiſition of which is certainly the greateſt Miſtery and Chain of Government: The People being an unruly Beaſt, eaſily led, impoſſible to be forc'd, and the Magick that ſo powerfully forces them, no other than a peircing, diſcerning, flattering; or eluding their Humour.

This was *Davids* Fundamental fault, which, like Error in the firſt concoction, multiplied it ſelf through the reſt of his Reign. he was bred a Stranger, knew not the diſpoſition of his people, met with troubleſome Times, and a Formidable Enemy, and therefore he may very well be charged

charged with three overſights; Firſt, after three, not unfortunate, incurſions into *England*, then imployed by *France*, not to reſt there with his proportion of glory and prey: But ſecondly, By the allurement of the *French* King, and that upon a ſcore of Friendſhip; whereas Friendſhips of Princes and Private Men are different, the one being particular: the other diffuſive and concerning Millions; beſides, that Princes are to conſider the intereſt of their States, not their private inclinations. And for the third, To make an invaſion, when he left ſo high diſcontents in a turbulent people behind, beſides thoſe of his own, that by force, obligation or intereſt were devoted to a victorious Enemy, and aſſured of his own Country. was very imprudential, both in going to find out an Enemy, whoſe force he knew not, and leaving behind him Subjects, whoſe malice and force he underſtood not.

But no more to diſturb his aſhes; Had he had another Country, another Enemy, another Education, and other Circumſtances of Time, he might have been as glorious as any of his Predeceſſors, it is the more probable (though the Change of Time does often heighten and aggravate the Vices of Princes) there is nothing either Cruel or Vitious recorded of him, So that even in the ſevereſt ſenſe we may diſmiſs him with this

this Character, That he was rather unhappy than ſloathful in his Government.

This mans eyes being for ever cloſed, the Nobility appointed a meeting for the accepting of

ROBERT STUART

For their King, as he was formerly deſigned, who appeaſed the diſſention of the Earl Dowglaſs *by marrying his Daughter to the Earl's Son. His firſt two years were ſpent in making incurſions upon the* Engliſh, *the Kings wife dying in the next year, he marries* Elizabeth Moor *his own Concubine, the better to legitimate the children he had by her, and them he honoured with Titles, and declared his Succeſſors; two years after an attempt is made on* Berwick, *but in vain, and* Talbots *Expedition fruſtrated, but a Truce for three years was concluded; which being expired, little quarrels awoke again, and occaſioned the Duke of* Lancaſter *to be ſent thither with a great Army and Navy, though not with the ſame fortune at Sea as at Land, which occaſioned the return of the Duke, who was purſued by ſome ſmall depredations of* William Dowglaſs, *though his Son of the ſame name, and ſome others, during the Treaty made an inroad as far as* Newcaſtle. Robert *having aſſiſtance from* France, *is forced to retire, eſpecially upon the news of* Richards *(Grand-child and Succeſſor to* Edward *the third) marching with*

with a great Army, fac'd the Scots *with an unbloody bravery. The* Scots *deſigning to beſiege* Roxburgh, *but quarrelling with the* French, *it came to nothing; which occaſioned ſo much diſſention, that it arrived at this paſs, That the* French *ſhould pay for their plunder and be diſmiſt, their General remaining as hoſtage for their ſatisfaction; whilſt* William Dowglaſs (*who had married the Kings Daughter*) *makes an Expedition into* Ireland, *plunders* Kerlingford, *and knowing his Father to be imployed againſt the* Engliſh, *haſten to his aſſiſtance. The attempt was in affront of* Richard *then ſtrugling with Domeſtick difficulties; But they of* Scotland *being unable to live without War and Rapine, they were reſolved to make a buſineſs of it, and becauſe the King, and his eldeſt Son were infirm, came to chooſe privately) the ſecond for their Leader; but this being diſcovered by the* Engliſh, *they altered their Reſolution, and reſolved to divide themſelves, one by the way of* Berwick, *the other of* Carliſle *the former Party led by* Dowglaſs *gave a defeat to the Lord* Percy, *with the loſs of his Life (the other not having the like Succeſs) who impatiently fighting before the coming up of the Biſhop of* Durham's *Forces, loſt his own and indangered the others.*

This happened in the year 1388. *at* Otterburn *in* Northumberland. *The King being ſpent with age, makes* Robert *his ſecond Son*

his

his Vice-Roy, (his eldeſt being unactive) who to affront Percey, *that ſeemed to leſſen the loſs, led in an Army, but after facing returned with ſome little depredation. Soon after a Peace was mediated between the* French *and* Engliſh, *in which* Robert, *without conſent of a Parliament, would not be compriſed; But his doubts were all reſolved by death in the year* 1390. *when he had lived* 74. *years, and reigned* 19. *being followed to the grave with ſuch acts of Barbariſm, as have heen frequent in that place.*

He is a Prince we find little ſaid of, as to his perſon, and poſſibly beſt to be conſidered in the Negative; We find many things done by his Captains, not by him; which notwithſtanding we may rather attribute to the ſtirring and violent humour of that age, than either his age, want of Genius, or love of quiet; yet herein appears ſomewhat of his Character, that meeting with turbulent times, and a martial people, he met not with any Inſurrections, and was a gainer; and though he did it by other hands, we muſt ſuppoſe that their Motions were directed by his Brain, that communicated Motion and Spirits unto them, ſince the Minds of Kings, like the firſt Mover, turn all about, yet are not perceived to move, and it was no humane wit ſaid their hearts were unſcrutable.

The

The ſame year his Eldeſt Son John *was caled to ſucceed, who thinking that name ominous to Kings (& there wanted not examples) as of him of* England, *and him of* France, *and fancying ſomewhat of the felicity of thoſe two former* Roberts, *was crowned King by the name of*

ROBERT the III.

This man being unactive, the weight of the Government reſted upon his Brother Robert.

The firſt ſeven years of his Reign paſt in a calm with England, *by reaſon of two Truces, but not without ſome fierce fewds among his Subjects, one whereof was very memorable between* Thomas Dunbar *Earl of* Murray, *and and* James Lindſay *Earl of* Crawford, *and was moſt high, inſomuch that ſeeing the difficulty of reducing them, he reſolved to make this propoſition to them, That* 300. *of each ſide, ſhould try it by dint of Sword before the King, the Conquered to be pardoned, and the Conquerour advanced; This being agreed on, a place was appointed on the Northſide of St.* Johnſtons, *but when they came to joyn battel, there was one of one ſide miſſing, whom when his party could not ſupply, and none would relinquiſh the other, a Tradeſman ſtept out, and for half a* French Crown, *and promiſe of maintenance for his life, filled up the company.*

The fight was furious, but none behaved himſelf more furiouſly than the Mercenary Champion, who they ſay was the greateſt cauſe of

the

the Victory, for of his ſide there remained ten grievouſly wounded, the other party had but one left who not being wounded, yet being unable to ſuſtain the ſhock of the other, threw himſelf into the Tey *and eſcaped. By this means the fierceſt of two* Clanns *being cut off, the remainder, being headleſs, were quiet. Two years after, the King in Parliament made his two Sons Dukes, a title then firſt brought into* 1398
Scotland. *Next year* Richard *the ſecond of* England *being forced to reſign,* Henry *the fourth ſucceeded, in the beginning of whoſe reign, though the Truce was not ended, the ſeeds of War began to bloom out, and upon this occaſion,* George *Earl of* March *had betrothed* Elizabeth *his Daughter to* David *the Kings eldeſt Son:* Archibald *Earl of* Dowglaſs, *not brooking this, gets a vote of Parliament for revocation of this marriage, and by the power of* Robert, *the Kings Brother, made a marriage between* Mary *his Daughter, and* David, *and, giving a greater ſum, got it confirmed in Parliament. The Earl of* March, *nettled at this, demands redreſs, but being not heard, leaves the Court, and with his Family and Friends goes into* England, *to the Lord* Percy, *an utter Enemy of the* Dowglaſſes, *waſt's* March, *and eſpecially depredating the lands of the* Dowglaſſes. *The* Scots *declare the Earl of* March *an Enemy, and ſend to demand him up of the* Engliſh,

who

who deny to ſurrender him. This made Hotſpur Percy *and* March, *make ſeveral incurſions into* Scotland, *till at laſt they were repulſed at* Linton-*Bridge by the* Dowglaſſes.

1400. *This was about the year four hundred, at which time War was denounced, and the* Engliſh *entred with a great Army, took* Haddington *and* Lieth, *and laid ſiege to* Edinburgh *Caſtle*, David *the Kings Son being within it, which the new Governour, ambitiouſly delaying to relieve, the* Engliſh, *ſatisfied with the terrour they brought, retired again. After which* March *did not ceaſe his little incurſions; which to be revenged of,* Dowglaſs *divided his Forces into two Squadrons, the firſt to* Halyburton, *who returned from* Barmborough, *with ſome prey; the ſecond and greater to* Patrick Hepburn, *who unwarily roving with his prey, was ſet on by the* Engliſh, *and with all the youth of* Lothian, *put to the Sword. To revenge this,* Dowglaſs *gets together* 10000. *men, and paſſing beyond* Newcaſtle, *met with young* Percy, *&c. who at* Homildon, *a little village in* Northumberland, *in the year* 1401. *gave gave him and his Party ſuch a conſiderable defeat, as* Scotland *had not receiv'd the like for a long time. This put* Percy *in hope to reduce all beyond the* Fryth, *but the troubles at home withdrew him from that deſign. By this* Annibal *the Queen dying,* David *her Son,*

who

who by her means had been reſtrained, broke out into his natural diſorders, and committed all kind of Rapine and Luxury. Complaint being brought to his Father, he commits him to his Brother the Governour (whoſe ſecret deſign being to root out the off-ſpring) the buſineſs was ſo ordered, as that the young man was ſhut up in Falkland *Caſtle to be ſtarved, which yet was for a while delayed, one woman thruſting in ſome thin Oaten Cakes at a chink, and another giving him milk out of her paps through a Trunck. But both theſe being diſcovered, the youth being forced to tear his own members, died of a multiplied death; which murder being whiſpered to the King, and the King inquiring after it, was ſo abuſed by the falſe repreſentations of his Brother, that grief and imprecations was all the relief he had left him, as being now retired ſickly to* Bote-Caſtle, *and unable to puniſh him. The King being ſolicitous of* James *his younger Son, is reſolved by the example of the good uſage of* David, *to ſend him to* Charles *the Sixth of* France, *and having taken Shipping at the* Baſſe, *as he paſt by the Promontory of* Flamborough, *whether forc'd by tempeſt, or that he was Sea-ſick, he was forc'd to land, taken by the* Engliſh, *and detained, notwithſtanding the allegation of a Truce of eight years, and his Fathers Letters. And though it came to*

the Privy Council to be debated, yet his detention was carried in the Affirmative. This advantage he had by his Captivity, that he was well and carefully educated; but the News ſo ſtruck his Father, that he had almoſt preſently died, but being carried into his Chamber, with voluntary abſtinence and ſorrow he ſhortned his life, three days longer, viz. *to the firſt of April.* 1406.

He was a man of a goodly and a comely perſonage, one rather fit for the tranquillity of a private life, than the agitations of Royalty, and indeed ſuch an one whoſe Reigns do little elſe but fill up Chronologies with the number of their years.

Upon this the Parliament confirm Robert *for Governour, a man of parts able enough for that employment, but a man of ſuch a violent and inveterate ambition, as would ſacrifice any thing to make it fuel to it ſelf. Soon after* March *and* Dowglaſs *were reconciled.*

In the year 1411. Donald *the Iſlander, Lord of the* Budæ, *enters* Roſs, *as his pretended inheritance, with ten thouſand men, and eaſily reduced it, and fluſhed by this, goes to* Murray, *which being ſtrengthleſs, he eaſily maſtered, and paſs'd ſpoiling into* Bogy, *and approached* Aberdeen.

Aberdeen. *To ſtop this torrent,* Alexander *Earl of* Mar, *followed by moſt of the Nobility, met him at* Harley, *a Village beyond* Tey, *where they joyned in ſo bloody a Battle, and loſt ſo many noble and conſiderable Perſons, that though Night parted them, neither could pretend to the Victory. To this year doth the Univerſity of* Saint Andrews *owe its riſe. The next ten years nothing was done between the* Scotch *and* Engliſh; Henry *the* V. *ſucceeding his Father, and being wholly intent for* France, *there was little to do between the two Nations, unleſs ſome ſmall incurſions. In the year* 1419. *Auxiliaries were ſent into* France, 1419 *and employed in* Turain, *but they making merry in the Eaſter-Holidays, the Duke of* Clarence, *being informed thereof, marches with a party to them; but notwithſtanding finding a ſtout repulſe, was himſelf, with many of his Souldiers ſlain. Whilſt this happens in* France, *in the year* 1420. Robert *the Governour dies, and* Mordack *his Son, a Sot, was put in his place, which he was ſo fit for, that he could not govern his three Sons, which was the cauſe of the Fathers and their ruines. This Domeſtick Change called home the Forces employed in* France, *but things being ſetled, others went in their places.* Henry *of* England, *hearing of the death of* Clarence, *made* John *Duke of* BEDFORD *his Vice-Roy,*

himself intending to follow, and carry JAMES *of* Scotland *along with him, the better either to win or ſuſpend the hearts of the* Scots; *but it was in vain, for they ſaid they would not obey a man, that had not his own liberty. Much action paſt afterwards between them and the* Engliſh, *but we haſten to cloſe with the Author.*

MORDACK, *as it hath been ſaid, being Governour, having neglected all Diſcipline at home, ſuffered his Sons to come to that petulancy, that they were not only offenſive to all the people, but withal diſobedient to their Father, who having a brave* Faulcon, *which his Son* WALTER *had often begged, but in vain, he ſnatch'd it out of his Fathers hand, and wrung off her neck, which his Father being angry at,* Well *ſays he,* Since I cannot govern thee, I will bring one ſhall govern us both: *And from that day he ceaſed not to further the Redemption of the* KING, *which was after ordered at an Aſſembly at* Perth, *and an honourable Embaſſy ſent into* England, With which this Author begins his Hiſtory, and we conclude this petty Labour.

The ſucceeding part, which is to continue where he leaves, is expected to be worthily performed by *Mr. Saunderſon*, and the precedent

precedent by the ingenious and learned *Mr. Chriſtopher Irwin.*

But becauſe we have made a part of promiſe to ſay ſomewhat of the Author, who hath left himſelf the memory of an ingenious man, by the things we have of his; and for that it is but too common ingratitude, to leave us better acquainted with the thoughts of men, than with their perſons and qualities, many excellent Spirits leaving only their Spiritual parts behind them, and little of their Corporal but their names, we ſhall ſet down in brief what we underſtand concerning him.

WILLIAM DRUMMOND was the Son of *Sir* JOHN DRUMMOND, and was born in the year 1585. and was brought up in *Edenburgh*, where having paſt through his courſe of Philoſophy, he took the Degree of Maſter of Arts, and in the year 1606. went into FRANCE, to ſtudy the Laws, as a way to raiſe him to preferment at Court. But his wit being of a greater delicacy, could not engage on the toyls and difficulties of that ſtudy, as being wholly inclined to eaſe and retirement, and a proſecution of the eaſier and ſofter entertainment of the Muſes. In this humour (for he was eſpecially addicted

dicted to POETRY, having for that purpose sufficiently mastered the GREEK. LATINE, FRENCH, SPANISH, and ITALIAN Tongues, as may appear by all his things of that nature) lived retiredly with his Brother-in-Law, till he was five and forty years of age, at which time he unexpectedly married MARGARETE LOGANE, a younger Daughter of the House of RESTELRIG.

He was not more retired in his Person then careless of his Fame, (all his Poems being Printed in loose sheets, and only addressed to his Friends.) Yet though he retreated from all the World, yet he was still found out; for all the Learned, and men of Quality, gave him his due respect. As for his own Countrey-men, the Earl of STERLIN, LEOCHEM, and Doctor JOHNSON. Besides, though he were little in ENGLAND, yet DANIEL DRAYTON, and JOHNSON visit him by their Letters, and testifyed their esteem of him. All that we have of him is this Book, and his Poems, of which when they are to be published, you will have better information. In this manner he continued a harmless, and a virtuous life, till in the year 1649. he was summoned to pay his great debt to Nature, having

having left a little before his death, a quantity of books to the Library of *Edenburgh*.

Having premiſed thus much to ſatisfie the Reader, as worthy to be foreknown, though I have had little encouragement for my pains, I ſhall ceaſe being ingenious in another mans book, and attend the reſtitution of that without which my ſelf cannot ſubſiſt.

From my Chamber
Jan. 24. 1680.

THE





IAMES: I. KING OF
Scotes. Anō: 1424
R Gaywood fecit:

THE HISTORY OF THE Reign of *James* the first, KING of SCOTLAND.

THE Nobles of *Scotland* being wearied with the form of their present Government; for tho they had a *King*, they enjoyed not the happiness of his sway, by his restraint afar off, under the power of a Stranger; some of them were possessed with hopes by the change of the *Head*, to find a change in the *Body* of the State. and a flow of their ebbing Fortunes; the *Church-men* and the *Gentry* having ever continued loyal and well-affected to the Lawful Heir of the Crown; the *Commons*, men delighting in Novations, and ordinarily preferring uncertainties, things unseen and to come, to what for the time they did hold and enjoy; the Governor of the Kingdom also himself, irritated by the misdemeanour of his Children, and forecasting the danger he might be plung-

ed into, if the States ſhould purchaſe the recovery of their King, he not complying to their Deſign: all unanimouſly and together determine without longer prolongings to work the delivery of their Native Prince *JAMES* forth of *England* where he had been detained eighteen years as a Priſoner.

They who were choſen and got Commiſſion to negotiate his Liberty were *Archembald* Earl of *Dowglaſs*, Son to *Archembald* Duke of *Turrain*, *William Hay* Conſtable of the Realm, *Alexander Irwin* of *Drumm* Knight, *Henry Lightoun* Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, *Alexander Cornwall* Arch-Dean of *Lothian*,

Theſe coming to *London* were graciouſly received by the State, and ſeverally entertained by King *James*, and ſo many friends as either his Alliance or Virtues had acquired. After ſome few days ſtay deſiring to have audience in Counſel they were admitted, where Biſhop *Lightoun* is ſaid to have ſpoken to this effect.

The reſpect and reverence which the Nation of the Scots *carryeth toward all Kings is all where known, but moſt that love and loyalty which they have to the ſacred Perſons of their own native Princes: for as Monarchy is the moſt ancient form of Government, ſo have they ever eſteemed it the beſt, it being more eaſie to find one inſtructed and trained up in heroical virtues, than to find many. And how well ſoever Governours and Vice-Gerents rule the Commmonwealth, yet is that Government but as the light of the Moon or ſtars in abſence of the Sun, and but repreſentations of ſhadows for real Bodies. This hath moved the three eſtates of that Kingdom to direct us here unto you.*

Our King theſe many years hath been kept from us, upon juſt or unjuſt Grounds we will not argue, that providence which hath appointed every thing to its

own

own end, hath done this for the best, both to you and us, and we are now to treat with you for his Delivery. Beseeching you to remember that his Father of Sacred memory recommended him out of that general duty which one Prince oweth to another, to your Kings Protection, in hope of Sanctuary, and in request of aid and comfort against secret, and therefore the more dangerous, Enemies, And to confess the Truth, hitherto he hath been more assured amongst you, than if he had remained in his own Countrey, your favours being many ways extended towards him: having in all liberal Sciences and vertues brought him up. That his abode with you seemeth rather to have been a remaining in an Academy, then in any Captivity, and thus he had been lost if he had not been lost. Besides, tho we have the happiness to claim his Birth and Stem, ye have the claim of his Succession and Education, He being now matched with the Royal Blood of England *in Marriage. Thus his Liberty which we entreat for, is a benefit to your selves, and those Princes which shall claim the descent of his off-spring. For if it should fall forth (as what may not, by the variable changes of Kingdomes, come to pass?) that this Prince by Usurpers and Rebels were disgarnished of his own Crown, they are your Swords which should brandish, to set him on his Royal throne. We expect that as ye have many ways rendred him yours, ye will not refuse to engage Him yet more by his Liberty, which he must acknowledge wholly and freely to receive from you: and by benefits and love to overcome a King, is more than by force of Arms. And since he was not your Prisoner by chance of War (having never raised Arms against you) but by way of Protection detained here, and entertained, so ye will, respecting your ancient honour and Generosity, send him freely back to his own; yet if it be so that ye will have acknowledgment, for*

what ye have beſtowed on his education, the diſtreſs of the preſent eſtate of his Subjects and Crown conſidered, We will not ſtand upon trifles of Money for the Redemption of a Prince above all price.

The Lords of the Council were diverſe ways inclined to this Embaſſie, ſome thought it not fit to diſmiſs him. For his remaining in *England* ſeemed the more to aſſure the kingdom of *Scotland* unto them; having the King and his children in their cuſtody what dared they not enterpriſe, or not bring to paſs? Or if *Scotland* ſhould plot any thing by way of Rebellion, the King having his party within the Realm, by the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh* would keep under the other Factions; and thus the Eſtate by both being made weak, it would be a fair breach for a Conqueſt, and the annexing that Kingdom to the Crown of *England.*

That he knew too much of the Eſtate and affairs of *England* to be ſent away to a Nation ever their enemies, That being at liberty and amongſt his own, he might reſent the injury of his long reſtraint,

Others of the Council thought it beſt to diſmiſs him, They had learned by experience that the keeping of the *King* of the *Scots* hindered no ways the *Scots* from aſſiſting the *French*, yea rather that it did exaſperate their choler, and make them in Revenge addict themſelves wholly to the *French:* the Governour no ways keeping to the *Engliſh*, and ſiding the *French*, upon whom to be revenged they could find no ſurer way than to ſet at liberty the *King*, whoſe return of neceſſity muſt needs change the face of the State, and trouble him. As for the conqueſt of the Crown of *Scotland*, it was not at that time of ſuch moment for *England*, they having the moſt part of *France* in their Subjection, which was as much, if not more, as they could hold, then it would

would prove a more harmleſs and ſure purchaſe to make *Scotland* theirs, by the Succeſſion of *Lady Jane* of *Somerſet*, than by war, the event whereof is ever doubtful and beyond any aſſurance of Man. The Liberty of the *King* of *Scots* might prevent the encreaſing ſtrength of the Kings Enemies in *France*, and ſecure the Peace and tranquillity of the Commonwealth at home: King *James* being all *Engliſh* by education, if he proved not of their Party, yet he muſt prove neutral to both the Kingdoms.

Henry the ſixth, then *King* of *England*, being of under-age was governed by his three Uncles of his Fathers ſide, *Humphrey* Duke of *Gloceſter*, who was made Protector of his Perſon and Realm, *John* Duke of *Bedford*, who was eſtabliſhed Regent of *France*, and *Thomas* Duke of *Exceſter*. But *Henry Beaufoord* Cardinal, Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and Chancellor of *England*, a man eminent in Blood and Riches, Uncle to the Lady *Jane*, in effect governed all. Theſe gave way, rather then approved that the *King* of *Scots* ſhould be ſet at liberty and ſent home. And though they would have diſmiſſed him freely, in reſpect of the Dowry of his *Queen*, which was not delivered, having uſe of preſent moneys for the maintenance of the Wars in *France*, and the more to cover the injuſtice of his Captivity, they thought it expedient to ſet a Ranſom upon him.

The Commiſſioners having met, it was declared, that for a ſufficient ſum of moneys their King might return and enjoy his own Liberty; the one half to be paid in hand, able Hoſtages remaining in *England* till the other half was fully diſcharged. The Ranſom agreed upon was *four hundred thouſand Marks*, but by the power of the *Cardinal* the third was diſcharged, for which he was long after accuſed before the King by the Duke of *Gloceſter*.

The Governour and Eſtate of *Scotland* having known the ſum laid upon them for the Liberty of the *King*, though the haſty acquiring of it was grievous unto them, preferring Glory and things neceſſary to matters of money, immediatly diſpatched ſo ſo much as could be gathered, together with a great many young Noblemen of the Kingdom to remain Hoſtages for the reſt; who (after the *Engliſh* Writers) were *David* ſon to the Earl of *Athol*, *Alexander* Earl of *Crawford*, the Lord *Gordon*, *John* de *Lyndeſay*, *Patrick* Son and Heir to Sir *John Lyon*, *David* de *Ogleby*, Sir *William* de *Ruthen*, *Miles Graham*, *David Mowbray* and *William Oliphant*. Theſe were honorably received entertained and kept. The Kings Father in Law, the Earl of *Somerſet*, the Cardinal his Brother, accompanied their Niece to the Borders, and there taking their leave returned back. The *King* with the reſt of their Train, received with many Troops of Nobles and Gentlemen, who ſwarmed from all parts of the Kingdom to give him a dutiful welcome into his Native ſoyl, and themſelves the contentment of beholding one they had ſo long deſired and expected, with loud acclamations and applauſes of the Commons as he held his Progreſs, on the Paſſion Week in Lent came to *Edinburgh*.

During his abode there, he aſſembled many of the Eſtates, liſtened to their Petitions, prepared for the approaching Parliament, which had been ſummoned before his coming, The Solemnities of *Eaſter* finiſhed, the *King* came with his *Queen* to *Perth*, and from thence in the beginning of the moneth of *May* to *Scone*, where the year 1424. by *Mordock* the Governour, Duke of *Albany* and Earl of *Fife* (to whom that charge by cuſtom of the Kingdom did appertain) and *Henry* Biſhop of S. *Andrews* the 27 year of his Age, there was a joynt Coronation of himſelf

ſelf and his Queen, being according to the Computation of the old *Scottiſh* Hiſtory, the hundreth and one King of *Scotland.*

At which time *Sigiſmond*, ſon to *Charles* the fourth, was Emperour of the *Weſt*. *John* the ſeventh, the ſon of *Andronicus* of the *Eaſt*; *Amurath* the ſecond, Great *Turk*; *Alphonſus* the fifth, King of *Spain*; *Charles* the ſeventh, King of *France*; *Henry* the ſixth, King of *England*; and with *Martin* the fifth, many claimed the Chair of St. *Peter.* *Ar. Dom.* 1424.

The ends in calling the Parliament were the Coronation of the King, to make the People ſee a Princes authority was come where they had but lately a Governours; the eſtabliſhing a Peace amongſt the Subjects, and taking away all Factions, the exacting a Subſidie for the relief of the Hoſtages in *England*, To this laſt, the Nobles held ſtrong hand, by reaſon many of their Sons were engaged. Here a a general tax was condeſcended upon through the whole Realm, as twelve pennies of the pound to be paid of all Lands, as well Spiritual as Temporal, and four pennies of every Cow, Ox, Horſe, for the ſpace of two years together. When the Commons had taken it grievouſly that the Subſidie, granted by the ſtates of the Kingdom in Parliament, was exacted moſtly of them; after the firſt Collection, the King pitying their poverty, remitted what was unpayed, and until the Marriage of his Daughter, thereafter never exacted any Subſidie of his Subjects. For he would gently ſtrain milk, and not wring blood from the breaſt of his Countrey, rendring the diſpoſure thereof, chaſte, ſincere and pure for expences neceſſary and profitable, not for profuſions, which neither afford contentment nor reputation; for money is both the nerves which give motion and veins, which entertain life in a State. Amongſt

others whom the King honoured, *Alexander*, ſecond Son to Duke *Mordock*, was dubbed Knight.

The Parliament diſſolving, the King came from *Perth* to *Edinburgh*, where having aſſembled all the preſent Officers, and ſuch who had born Authority in the State during the time of Duke *Robert*, and Duke *Mordock*, eſpecially thoſe whoſe charge concerned the Rents of the Crown, he underſtood by their accouuts, that the moſt part of all the Rents, Revenues and Lands pertaining to the Crown, were waſted, alienated and put away, or then by the Governors beſtowed on their freinds and followers, the Cuſtoms of Towns and Burroughs only excepted. This a little incenſed his indignation, yet did he ſmother and put a fair countenance on his paſſion, ſeeming to ſlight what he moſt car'd for: occaſion thereafter no ſooner ſerved when he began to countenance and give way to Promoters and Informers (neceſſary though dangerous Inſtruments of State, which many good Princes have been content to maintain, and ſuch who were not bad never denied to hear, but uſing them no longer then they were neceſſary for their ends) to rip up ſecret and hidden crimes, wrongs ſuffered, or committed during the time of his detenſion in *England*. He received the complaints of the Church-men, Countrey Gentlemen, Merchants againſt all thoſe who had either wronged them or the State, and would have the cauſes of all Accuſers to be heard and examined: Here many to obtain the favour of the Prince, accuſed others.

Upon pregnant accuſations *Walter Stuart* one of the Sons of Duke *Mordock* was Arreſted and ſent to the *Baſs*, to be cloſe kept; ſo was *Malcolm Fleming* of *Cammernauld* and *Thomas Boyd* of *Kilmarnock* committed to Ward in *Dalkieth*. Not long after (the Nobility interceding) *Malcolm* and *Thomas*, goods being

being reſtored which they had taken wrongfully, and Fines laid upon them for their Offence, promiſing to ſatisfie all whom they had wrong'd, were pardoned all faults, and then ſet at Liberty.

The *King* by liſtening to Promoters. came to the knowledge of many great inſolencies committed by ſundry of his Nobles, which as it bred a hatred in him, ſo fear in them, and both appeared to ſtudy a Novation; They for their own ſafety, He to vindicate Juſtice and his Authority. The Duke had highly reſented the committing of his Son, as had his Father in Law the Earl of *Lennox*. The Malecontents being many, if they could have ſwayed in one body as they came to be of one mind, threatned no ſmall matter, The *King* from the intelligence of cloſe Meetings, ſecret Leagues, ſome Plots of his Nobles, began to forecaſt an apparent ſtorm in the State, and danger to his own Perſon, whereupon (being both couragious and wiſe) he proclaimeth again a Parliament at *Perth*, where the three Eſtates being aſſembled in his throne of Majeſty, he ſpoke in this manner;

I have learned from my tender years that Royalty conſiſteth not ſo much in a Chair of State, as in ſuch actions which do well become a prince. What mine have been ſince my coming Home and Government among you, I take firſt God, and then your ſelves for witneſſes. If all of them be not agreeable to you all, and if any rigorous dealing be uſed againſt ſome, Let him who is touched lay aſide his particular, and look to the ſetling of Juſtice in the State, and publick Good of the whole Kingdom, and he ſhall find his ſufferings tolerable, perhaps neceſſary, and according to the time deſerved. I have endeavoured to take away all Diſcords, aboliſh Factions, Suppreſs Oppreſſion, as no Forein Power hath attempted

ought

ought againſt you hitherto, ſo that ye ſhould not endeavour ought againſt another, nor any thing againſt weal publick and Soveraignty. Slow have I been in puniſhing injuries done to my ſelf, but can hardly pardon ſuch as are done to the Commonwealth, for this have I called this Parliament, let rapine and out-rage no more be heard of, but every man recal himſelf to a civil and regular form of life, eſpecially you (my Nobles) think vertue and civility true Nobility, that to be accounted nobleſt which is beſt, and that a mans own worth begets true glory. By theſe and the obedience to their Princes, your anceſtors acquired what ye now enjoy, there is no ſtronger means to keep the goods acquired from a Prince, than the ſame by which they were firſt purchaſed, which is ſtill obeying. Though by leagues, Factions, and the confounding of all true Policy and Order of Government, Man may imagine he can ſhun the Judicatories of Man, let none how great ſoever conceive he can ſave his wrongs unpuniſhed from the Almighty hand of God. Ye muſt not hereafter count Authority, honeſty, and virtue idle names, nor reckon that right which ye may win or hold by dint of Sword. For me, I will behave my ſelf in my proceedings as I muſt anſwer to God, and for you my Subjects do ſo as ye ſhall anſwer to God firſt, and after to your Prince whom God hath ſet over you.

No mans Greatneſs ſhall appale me in doing right, nor the meanneſs of any make him ſo contemptible that I ſhall not give ear to his grievance; for I will ſtrive to do juſtice on Oppreſſors, and ſupport the innocent to my uttermoſt.

Here he eaſily found the power which the Preſence of a Prince hath over Subjects; for having confirmed the minds of the Parliament, a mutual oath paſſed between him and his Subjects; The *King* ſwore if any made

made war againſt *Scotland*, or went about to overthrow the ancient Laws of the Kingdom, to reſiſt and invade him with all his power; The *Eſtates* ſwore if any by open Rebellion ſhould revolt or conſpire againſt the *King*, or be found to be the Authors of Factions and Novations, they ſhould aſſiſt and ſide the *King* with all their forces, after what manner he ſhould command. A Solemn Act was made that none of the Subjects ſhould bind up a league together.

The *King* the more to aſſure the *Clergy* unto him, ſwore to defend the liberties of the Church, making an Act that all Church lands unjuſtly detained from them, during the time of his Captivity ſhould be reſtored unto them.

The Body of the Eſtate holding good for the King, *Mordock* Duke of *Albany* with his Sons *Walter* and *Alexander* were preſently arreſted and committed: as were likewiſe *Duncan* Earl of *Lennox*, and *Robert Graham* (a Man that dared give attempt upon thoſe things which no honeſt man ever could think) they were ſent to *Faulkland*, but the Duke to *Carlaverock*. *Archembald* Earl of *Dowglaſs*, with *William* Earl of *Anguſs* the Kings Siſters ſon, *George* Earl of *March*, *Walter Oguilby* were committed, but after ſet at liberty. *Adam Hepburn* of *Haylles*, *Thomas Hay* of *Yeaſter*, with others were ſent to the Caſtle of St. *Andrews*. That ſame day the Duke was Committed, the King ſeized on his Caſtles at *Faulkland* in *Fyfe*, and *Down* in *Monteeth*, out of which he removed the Dutcheſs to *Tantallon* in *Lothian*. *James* the youngeſt Son of the Duke, whom former carriage and harmleſs behaviour had exempted from all ſuſpicion of Treachery after the committing of his Father and Friends, whether of a youthful inſolency, or deſperate rage, reſolving

to

to do and ſuffer all extremities, or that he was contemned, accompanied with a number of out-laws, and Mountainers on the *Holy-rood-day* called the *Invention of the Croſs*, came to the Town of *Dumbartoun*, ſet it on fire, ſurpriſed there *John Stuart* of *Dondonald* ſurnamed the Red, Uncle to the King, ſlew him with thirty others; after which cruel adviſing with fear and deſpair he fled into *Ireland* where he died. The Wife of *Walter Stuart* his Brother, with her two ſons *Andrew* and *Alexander*, with *Arthur* a baſe born, hafted with him, where they remained till the reign of King *James* the third.

The barbarous fierceneſs of *James* highly incenſed the King againſt his Father and race, diverted the current of his Clemency; for when he thought by gentle incarcerations to have reſtrained their malice, now he finds that that deaf Tyrant the *Law* can only ſecure himſelf and bring reſt to his Subjects. Whereupon the year following he calleth a *Parliament* at *Sterling*, where the eſtates aſſembling, the Duke with his two ſons and Father-in-law the Earl of *Lennox* (accuſations being engroſſed, and articles exhibited againſt them out of the acts of former times, of what hath been done unjuſtly, cruelly or amiſs, during the Kings captivity) were preſented, arraigned, and condemned: *Walter* Earl of *Athol* being Judge, to whom were adjoyned many noble men and Barons.

That ſame day on which their fatal ſentence was pronounced, the two young men *Walter Stuart* and *Alexander* Sons to the Duke, were taken forth to the Hill which ariſeth againſt the Caſtle of *Sterling*, and had their heads cut off. The day following *Mordock* Duke of *Albany* late Governour, with *Duncan Lennox* Earl of *Lennox* was beheaded.

The deaths of theſe Noblemen, were ſo far from bree-

breeding any diſtaſte in the common People, that out of their depraved diſpoſition and envy againſt their betters, they flowted at their fall, reproached their inſolencies, delighted in their execution: and as much without reaſon railed on them when they were dead, as they had flattered them being alive.

Whether by the wiſdom of the King it hath fallen out, who cauſed aboliſh the Indictment (being againſt perſons ſo near unto him in blood) or bluntneſs of thoſe times, which thought ſuch clear evidences needed no Records, the particulars of the Attaindor of theſe great men are ſwallowed up in dark oblivion.

Moved at the Impriſonment of his Son, did *Mordock* with *Lennox* (hating him whom they had wronged) attempt againſt the Kings perſon, and that ſame very Treaſon which afterwards had ſucceſs, was it then between the plot, and the execution ſurpriſed, and in the very head cut off? The Earl of *Athol*, a man whoſe deſires were both extremely wicked and unbounded, was a great actor in this Tragedy.

Did the King, ſtanding in fear of their extraordinary greatneſs, bend his eyes upon the diſpoſition of the Offenders, ſquaring their actions by the rule of their intentions, and weighing what, not how far they did offend? for Princes quickly free themſelves from their very ſhadows in matter of jealouſie of State. And they have great reaſon to prevent ſuch crimes which cannot be puniſhed when they are committed, nor ſhould they expect to amend a miſchief when the Criminals are become Maſters of their Judges.

People believe not that any conjure againſt a Prince, till they find the Treaſon to have taken effect, and diſtruſt the Plot till they ſee him dead. But the

the Death of ſuch who are ſuſpected to be the Authors of diſorders in a Commonwealth, ſpareth an infinite number of lives, and much civil blood when they are firſt ſurprized, neither are too ſtrict circumſtances of Law to be obſerved when a ſmall delay may aboliſh all obſerving of order and Laws.

The Duke to raiſe his own reputation to the diſadvantage of the King with all ſecrecy of his intentions, had procured himſelf a vaſt Authority with the Nobles, by a ſemblance of liberality waſting the Patrimony of the Crown, as remitting Treaſons, reſtoring again Lands annexed to the Crown. He had ſtudied ſo to conciliate to him the minds of the Commons, that the deſire of a King did not much touch them, uſing ſuch moderation in his proceedings that his Government ſeemed unto many not only tolerable but deſirable.

He had eſſayed to draw the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, and had drawn the Earl of *March*, to enter into a League with him, and theſe Noblemen then in the Caſtle of St. *Andrews*, divided the Nobility and made them break their Allegiance to the King, Upon which attempt it ſeemeth that that Act of this Kings ſecond Parliament was made. That no Subjects ſhould league themſelves together.

The *King* eſteemed all that Government of *Robert* and *Mordock* to be an uſurpation of the Crown, and feared the like thereafter.

His Son *James* had burnt *Dumbartoun*, and treacherouſly killed the Kings Uncle, which was not done without his knowledge, if not his Counſel.

Though he relieved the *King* of his Captivity, he ſuffered him to remain very long a Priſoner; neither did he practiſe his deliverance till he perceived the whole States of the Kingdom reſolved to call him Home, and was compelled by the injuries of his own Children.

To

To exaſperate new injuries by old rancours, his Father *Robert* ſpurred by Ambition, had famiſhed to death the Kings Brother *David* in the Caſtle of *Faulkland*, to eſcape whoſe Tyrranny, the King yet a child was committed to the protection of ſtranger Princes. What ever the particulars of their accuſations have been, it is above the poſſibility of any Governor, or Man in eminent place and authority ſo to carry himſelf, but a diſcontented Prince, if he will ſet him to a tryal ſhall bring ſome one or other of his actions to whirl him within compaſs of Juſtice. Thus the imprecation of *Robert* the third took effect upon the race of *Robert* the Governour; for after the death of the Duke of *Rotheſay* he is ſaid to have curſed him moſt deadly, praying as he had ſlain his Brothers Son, and filled their houſe with blood, ſo God would puniſh him, his Stock and Poſterity. There is not any wickedneſs, which beareth not its puniſhment and repentance at the laſt, if we can have patience to attend the laſt act of thoſe Tragedies played on this Theatre of the World. By the Attaindor of the Duke, the Earldoms of *Fife*, *Monteith*, and *Lennox* were devolved to the Crown. The Caſtle of *Inch-Merin* in *Loch-Lommond* which had a while been kept good for *James*, who fled into *Ireland*, by *John Montgomery* and *Humphrey Cunning-* was brought to the obedience of the *King*.

When the Lords and Gentlemen who were in Priſons, attending the Kings pleaſure, underſtood what neceſſary juſtice had been executed upon the Duke and his Sons, they were grievouſly perplexed; yet the King, like a wiſe Phyſitian, would take no more blood then might take away the diſeaſe and all further cauſes of Faction. For within twelve moneths thereafter he ſet them all at Liberty, and received them in his wonted favour, upon promiſe

of

of their loyal demeanour and dutiful obedience in time to come. But being thus freely diſcharged, the conceit was taken that *Mordocks* head and his ſons, with *Lennoxes* was only the aim, and that they were uſed but as a Countenance of State to dazle the eyes of the People. The Wars continuing between the *Engliſh* and the *French*, the one to keep what he was in poſſeſſion of the other to reobtain what he had loſt: *Charles* the ſeventh, a wiſe and Victorious Prince, knowing the Friendſhip of *Scotland* to be of no ſmall importance to any that ſhould fight againſt the *Engliſh*, the flower and ſtrength of the *Scottiſh* Souldiers which had followed the *French* Wars being then blaſted and ſpent, ſendeth *John Stuart* of *Darnley*, Marſhal of a Gariſon of Horſemen, with the Earl of *Dowglaſs* (as the *French* write) then Marſhal of *France*, to *Scotland*, to have a freſh ſupply of Men of Arms, and *Renauld* of *Charters* Archbiſhop of *Rheymes*, (who there had Crowned his Maſter, and as Chancellour of *France*) to renew the ancient League between the *French* and *Scots*. But the main buſineſs about which the Archbiſhop came, was the trafficking of a Marriage between *Lewis* the *Daulphine*, though then very young, with *Margaret* Daughter to King *James*. This Match the *Engliſh* had either neglected or contemn'd, which afterwards they ſued for. the renewing of the old League and Amity betwixt the two Nations was eaſily condeſcended unto, it being but a witneſs to the world of their mutual kindneſs. The chief Articles of which were;

The War or Injury, moved or done by the Engliſh men *to one of the ſaid Nations, to be as Common wrong to both.*

If the Engliſh men *make War on the* French *Nation, then the* Scots *at the coſts and charges of the* French King,

King, *shall minister to them succours.*

Likewise if the Scots be molested by the English Wars, the French Nation *having their charges allowed, shall be to them Aiders and Assisters.*

That none of both Nations shall either contract or make peace with the Realm of England, *without the consent and agreement of the other.*

The Marriage being found commodious for both Nations, was likewise with great contentment agreed upon, and concluded; fresh recruits of Souldiers were levied, and dispatched with the Embassador to *France.*

The South and Champion parts of *Scotland* brought under obedience, and a peaceful Government, the King will have the remotest Countries of his Kingdom, even those blocked up and baricadoed by the snowy Clifts of *Grantsben*, to acknowledge his Justice. The wildness of the soyl had made the Inhabitants there more fierce than Fierceness it self, and let them out to all unlawful Riots and Rapines. To restrain their insolent humors and bring them within compass of Civility in the year 1426. he caused repair the Castle of *Innerness*, which is situated in the uttermost borders of *Murray*, and by their incursions which had been turned desolate, hither some years after cometh he in person and keepeth open Court, that being near the evil he might have the better means to provide for and consider it. But he seemed to have arrived in some Territory of the *Scythians*, having known and found things which none did nor dare relate unto him, for he had learned that not many miles off, there were men some of which had one thousand, some two thousand Robbers at their call, who were accustomed to drive preys from the more civil Neighbours and Borders, pilling and spoiling, polluting and ravishing without any

difference of right or wrong, holy or prophane, but only following their ravenous and inſolent humours. On the quieter ſort they ſet Tribute, others they compel to Miniſter to them ſuſtenance and neceſſaries: The God, Prince, Law which they obey are their barbarous Chieftains, amongſt which he is thought the beſt who doth moſt tranſcend in Villany.

The King ſeemed to give ſmall faith to theſe relations, entertaining kindly and feaſting from all parts, all ſuch who daigned to ſee him, moſtly thoſe who were the Chiefs and Principals of the Families in theſe bounds, by whoſe means all whom innocency did guard came freely to Court, and many guilty, by fair promiſes and hopes of the Kings clemency preſented themſelves. Others, though moſt refractory and unwilling at firſt, that they might not ſeem out of the faſhion of their Companions, and appear ſuſpect, reſorted thither. Thinking theſe Offices might be interpreted to proceed of good will and obedience, which were done of emulation. Fourty of theſe Leaders and Chiefs, meeting at once and being together within the incloſure of the Caſtle Walls, were ſurprized and committed to cloſe Priſons. Some days after, two whoſe wickedneſs was throughly known, *Alexander Mack-Rore* or *Mackrarey* and *John Mackcarture* were hanged. *James Cambel* for the murther of *John* of the Iſles (renownd amongſt his own) was beheaded. The reſt upon hope of further Tryal were committed to Priſons, of which for example and terror to others many were executed, the remains in peaceful manner ſent home, the King having graciouſly exhorted them to a life according to the Law of God and Man.

Alexander of the Iſles Earl of *Roſs*, being taken in this trap was brought by the King to *Perth*, where he was accuſed of oppreſſion, and many barbarous cru-

elties

elties were proved againſt him: yet ſuch was the Kings clemency, he was only ſome few days committed, and after lovely advice at the Council-Table, rather to obey his Prince than render himſelf Chieftain of Thieviſh Troops, he was freely diſmiſt, but benefits oblige not ignoble Minds, and mercy ſhown to a fierce and obſtinate nature diſgraceth the beauty of the clemency of a Prince; for no ſooner was he returned to his own Territories where interpreting impriſonment a diſhonour and ſhame to a Man of his Power and Qualities, and telling that a promiſe made by one impriſoned by the Judgment of Lawyers themſelves was nothing worth, he gathered together a Rabble of Outlaws and Mountainers, came towards the Town of *Innerneſs*, which peaceably he entered and was courteouſly received, having before diſperſed his men among the Fens and Hills toward the Weſt, they, ſo ſoon as Night had brought the inhabitants to reſt, ſpoiled them and ſet their houſes on fire. And becauſe the Caſtle was the place in which he had been ſurprized, he beſieged it with a thouſand lewd fellows practiſed in daily depredations and Robberies.

At the noiſe of this cruelty the Gentlemen of the Neighbouring Shires from all quarters aſſemble themſelves for the defence of their Friends, the *King* liſteth ſpeedy preparations, at the approach of which the Clans, Whattons and Camerons with other Thieving Troups diſperſed themſelves and fled into their lurking holes. *Alexander* abandoned of their Forces with ſo many as he could keep together fled into *Lochquhabar*, from thence paſſed to the Iſles deliberating to go to *Ireland*, but things anſwered not his expectation, for by his Spy finding that he was way-laid, and that numbers of people, (a prize being ſet upon his head) in all places laboured to ſurprize

him: when he had long continued deſolate, and a vagabond, at laſt he began to intercede with his Friends at Court for Mercy to him from the King. Sundry tempt the Kings Clemency, but he will not promiſe nor aſſure them of any favour before *Alexander* in perſon as Supplyant render himſelf and his eſtate to his diſpoſure. Thus finding no eſcape, and deſtitute of all help he was emboldned to come privately to *Edinbrough*; there on *Eaſter* day wrapped in a mourning Garment, and concealed in the dragg of the multitude, the King being in the Church of the *Holy-rood* at divine Service, he fell proſtrate at his knees, beſeeching him for grace, which at the requeſt of the Queen and other Aſſiſters he obtained. His life and private eſtate was granted him, but that he ſhould do no more harm, and be reduced to a more modeſt behaviour, *William Douglaſs* earl of *Anguſs* was appointed to take him in cuſtody, and that within the Caſtle of *Tantallon*; his Mother *Euphem* Daughter to *Walter Leſly* ſometime Earl of *Roſs* a Manniſh implacable woman, who had ſolicited and raiſed her Son to all that miſchief, was committed to the Iſle of *S. Colm.*

Donald Balloch, Couſin-germain to *Alexander* Lord of the *Iſles*, a man of a haughty mind, reſenting the Kings proceedings againſt his Couſin, raiſed a great number of Out-laws and Robbers, and invaded *Lochquhabar*, omitting no cruelty, which enraged Savages uſe to commit. *Alexander Stuart*, Earl of *Marre*, and *Alane* Earl of *Caithneſs*, with ſuch numbers of People as they could in haſt raiſe, came to defend the Country againſt the incurſions of theſe Highland men, and rencountred them at *Innerlochty*, where by an over-weening opinion of Victory, which eaſily deceiveth young Souldiers, imagining they went to fight with untrained, raw Theeves, who would

would never abide their march, and miſregard of martial Diſcipline, *Allan* was ſlain, and *Alexander* Earl of *Marre* diſcomfited, and *Balloch* inſolent of his Victory, with a great Booty returned to the Iſles. The King at the Rumour of this diſaſter in all celerity with a great Army came to *Dunſtaffage*, intending from that to paſs to the Iſles, which when the Clans and other chief men underſtood, turning their defence into ſubmiſſion, they came in haſt to *Dunſtaffage*, and humbly begg'd pardon: laying the fault of the whole Rebellion on *Balloch*, and ſome adventuring Thieves, many of which *Balloch* had preſſed to that miſchief againſt their minds; the King finding extream rigour at that time a cure unreaſonable, taking their oath of fidelity, and that they ſhould perſue *Balloch* and his followers, accepted them in his favor, only tranſporting ſome of the moſt factious along with him. They in few days, to ſeem worthy of the Kings mercy, ſurprized a great number of them, three hundred of which died all on Gibbets; and puniſhment had taken away a much greater number, had he not conſidered that there is no man ſo miſerable, who is not a member of the State.

The King, leſt hope of impunity might cheriſh Rebellion, reſolves to find *Balloch*, and hearing he lurked in *Ireland* in the bounds of one named *Odo*, he ſends to have him delivered; *Odo*, either out of fear of the Kings diſpleaſure, or hope of rewards, ſeizeth on him; and ſuſpecting if he ſent him alive, he might by power or ſtratagem ſlight his Convoy, chopping off his head, and ſent it to King *James*, then remaining at *Sterling*.

The Clans, Whattons, and Camerons, ſpairing the Magiſtrates ſword, yet executing Juſtice by mutual ſlaughters one of another, had rendred the North very peaceable of that ſcum of Thieves: ſome Chieftains

were ſhut up in faſt Priſons, among which two moſt eminent in all miſchiefs, hating mortally others, and hated of all good men, *Angus Duff* of *Strath-Navern*, and *Angus Murray*; theſe the King out of Policy of State let out and ſet at liberty, of purpoſe that they might be thruſt forward in a greater danger. Returning to their wild countries *Duff*, nothing reſpecting the Kings clemency, accompanied with many Thieves and Robbers, driveth a great prey of cattle and other ſpoils from the Confines of *Murray* and *Caithneſs*; which to recover, *Angus Murray*, that he might attempt ſomething worthy of his life and liberty, followeth with a great power of like Souldiers; having now Authority to juſtifie his revenge on a guilty enemy, he overtaketh *Duff* near unto *Strath-Navern*; There ſtrongly is it fought, neither of the parties being inferiour to other in number, cruelty, or deſpair. This conflict continued ſo fierce and eager, that of both ſides there remained ſcarce twelve perſons alive, and thoſe ſo wounded that Juſtice had not whom to purſue. An overthrow delightful and commodious for the peace and quiet of all the honeſt and vertuous Subjects of theſe Countries.

Theſe many executions nothing appalled one *Mac-Donald*, born in *Roſs*, a Thief fleſht in all murthers, miſchievous without mercy, equally greedy of blood and ſpoil, who by Robberies had acquired great riches. Amongſt other cruelties, he is ſaid to have naild horſe-ſhoes to the ſoles of a Widow, becauſe in her grief ſhe had ſworn in haſt to report his wickedneſs to the King. Being brought to *Perth* by men of his own qualities, with twelve of his Aſſociates, the King cauſed them in like manner to be ſhod as they had ſerved the woman; and when three days, for a ſpectacle to the people, they had been hurried

hurried along the Town, his companions were Gibbeted, and he made ſhorter by the head.

Groſs enormities cut away, factions repreſſed, the *King* maketh a Progreſs throughout all the parts of his Realm, doing Juſtice upon all ſorts of Malefactors; neither did Pardons granted by the late Governour avail, it being alledged, that they expired by his death; and though ſmall faults might have been paſſed by ſuch remiſſions, yet horrible and crying crimes were not within the compaſs of ſuch Authority. Whileſt he thus continues in the adminiſtration of Juſtice, the favourable eye of Providence looketh upon him, and in the year 1430. in the moneth of *October*, Queen *Jane* is delivered of two Sons at *Holy-Rood-Houſe*, *Alexander* and *James*; the one deceaſed in his infancy, the other ſucceeded to his Father and was King. To heighten the joy of his people, and diffuſe it univerſally, many priſoners are ſet at liberty, amongſt which were *Archibald* Earl of *Dowglaſs*, Sir *Gilbert Kennedy*, the Kings Siſters Sons; the Earl had been kept in *Lochleavin* the other in *Sterling*. They had been committed rather upon ſuſpicion of the times, than men; having ſpoken too freely againſt the preſent Government; *Alexander* Earl of *Roſs* was alſo ſet at liberty. And that the King intended a real and ſincere reconciliation, the Earl of *Dowglaſs* was made Parent to his Children at the Font; at this ſolemnity fifty Knights were Dubbed, the firſt of which was *William Dowglaſs*, ſon to the Earl, who after ſucceeded to his Father in the Earldom of *Dowglaſs*.

A ſweet calm diffuſing it ſelf through every corner of the Realm, the *King* imagining the reſt of his Reign to be but the enjoyment of a Crown, ſets his thoughts wholly to the works of Peace. Many unreaſonable Cuſtoms (which were become to the vul-

gar, Laws) had many years continued in his Kingdom; theſe he will either have aboliſhed or amended; To this effect, he ſelecteth perſons commended for wiſdom, gravity and uprightneſs of life through his Realm, to pry into all abuſes, hear and determine of all ſorts of quarrels and ſuits, if any were brought unto them, whereof the ordinary Judges, either for fear dared not, or power of ſtronger could not, or for hatred or favour would not give any perfect Judgment. To them he gave full Authority to make inquiſition of the breach of pœnal Statutes; ſome hereby were puniſhed by Fines, others in their Lives; he took away the deceit which had been occaſioned by variety of meaſures; for this end certain Iron meaſures were appointed to be made, unto which the reſt ſhould be conform and like; before his Reign not only in every Town and Shire, but in every Mannor and Houſe different meaſures were currant, which abuſe he aboliſhed by Parliament.

The roughneſs of the times, and perpetual wars and troubles of his Anceſtors had near taken away the Arts and Handycrafts, and turned the Sciences contemptible, eſpecially ſince the Reign of *Alexander* the third. The Commons by the manifold changes and miſeries of the Age affecting Barbarity, the Nobles making Arms their whole ſtudy and care; to the further advancement of the Commonwealth, and that his Subjects might have occaſion to avoid ſloth and idleneſs, the King from the Neighbour Continent, and from *England* drew unto him the beſt Artizans and Manufactors, whom either large priviledges or moneys could entice and oblige. Of which ſuch a fair number came, and were ſo graciouſly received, that they forgot their Native Countreys, and here made their perpetual abode. And what till this day *Scotland* enjoyeth of them, owe all their beginning

to theſe Times. Schools of learning were founded, to which great Liberties and Priviledges were granted, the King well knowing that what ever is excellent in any Eſtate, from them had beginning and ſeed, and that there is no better means to ſweeten and tame the wild nature of Men then to buſie their ſpirits with peaceful and ſedentary Exerciſes; rude and untrained minds being inclinable of themſelves to tumult and ſedition. To make a neceſſity of learning, he made an Act that none of the Nobility ſhould ſucceed to their Anceſtors Heritage, except they had ſome taſte of the Civil Law or practice of the Country-Cuſtoms, but this after was by them aboliſhed.

Many famous men in all Sciences from the Nobleſt Univerſities of Chriſtendom came hither, as to the Sanctuary of the Muſes, where often the King himſelf in perſon graced their Leſſons, and when great matters did not withdraw him, was Umpire to their harmleſs Conflicts. Being himſelf religious, he advanced Men learned and of good life to eminent places in the Church; and that the beſt deſervers might be diſcerned he diſtinguiſhed the learned in degrees, Making a Law that none ſhould enjoy the room of a Canon in any Cathedral Church, unleſs he were Batchelour in Divinity, or at the leaſt of the Canon Law. Though he challenged King *David* and named him a grievous Saint to the Crown, for dilapidating ſo much Rent in extraordinary Donations to the Church, yet with great coſt and magnificence he founded the Convent of *Charters* in *Perth*, and beſtowed fair Revennues upon it: The excellent skill which he had in Muſick and delight in *Poeſie* made him affect Quiriſters, and he was the firſt that erected in his own Chappels, and the Cathedral Churches of *Scotland*, Organs, being not much known before his Reign to the Nation.

Peace

Peace hath its own dangers no leſs than Wars, yea often ſuch eſtates as have encreaſed their Dominions, and became mighty by Wars, have found their ruin in a luxurious peace: Men by a voluptuous life becoming leſs ſenſible of true honour. The Court, and by that example, the Country was become too ſoft and delicate, ſuperfluous in all delights and pleaſures. Maſques, Banqueting, gorgeous apparel, revelling were not only licenſed, but ſtudied and admired: Nothing did pleaſe what was not ſtrange and far brought, Charity began to be reſtrained, publique magnificence falling in private Riot. What was wont to entertain whole Families, and a train of goodly men, was now ſpent in dreſſing of ſome little rooms, and the womanniſh decking of the perſons of ſome few *Hermophradites*.

To theſe the wiſe King had a while given way, knowing that delicate ſoft times were more eaſie to be governed, and a people given to mild arts, and a ſweet condition of life, than rough and barbarous, ſo they turned not altogether womanized: and that it was an eaſie matter to bring them back again to their old poſture. At theſe abuſes ſome of the ſeverer ſort of the Clergy began to carp, yet could they not challenge the Prince, who in the entertainment of his own perſon, ſcarce exceeded the degree of any private Man, yea was often under the Pomp and Majeſty of a King: But the blemiſh of all this exceſs was laid on the *Engliſh*, who by the Queen (their Country woman) with new guiſes daily reſorted hither, and turned new-fangle the Court. The King not only liſtened to their plaints, but called a Parliament to ſatisfie their humours. Here *Henry Wardlaw* Biſhop of S. *Andrews*, highly aggravating the abuſes and ſuperfluities of Court and Country, all diſorders were pry'd into, and Statutes made againſt

againſt them. They aboliſhed Riots of all ſorts of Pearl (many Rivers in *Scotland* affording them not only for uſe but for exceſs) only women were permitted to wear a ſmall Carkanet of them about their Necks; coſtly Furs and Ermins were wholly forbidden, together with the abuſe of Gold and Silver lace. Penalties were not only impoſed upon the tranſgreſſours, but on workmen which ſhould make or ſell them; exceſſive expenſe in banqueting was reſtrained, and dainties baniſhed from the Tables of *Epicures*, with Jeaſters and Buffons. In this year 1430. the firſt of *June* was a terrible *Eclipſe* of the *Sun* at three of the clock afternoon, the day turning black for the ſpace of an half hour, as though it had been Night; therefore it was after called of the Commons, The BLACK HOUR.

The laſt and greateſt matter which buſied the Kings thoughts, was, the encreaſing of his Revenues, and bringing back the Demeſn of the Crown: a work no leſs dangerous than deep and difficil, and which at laſt procured him greateſt hatred. For till then ſmothered malice did never burſt forth in open flames. And though this diligence of the King concerned much the publick weal, yet ſuch as were intereſſed by rendring what they had long poſſeſſed (though without all reaſon) eſteemed themſelves highly wronged. The Patrimony of the Crown had been waſted and given away by the two Governours, to keep themſelves popular, and ſhun the envy of a factious Nobility; Thus the King had neither in magnificence to maintain himſelf, nor beſtow upon his friends or ſtrangers.

He had adviſedly peruſed all evidences and charters belonging to the Crown; hereupon he recalls all ſuch Lands as had been either alienated from it, or wrongfully uſurped.

Together

Together what was wont to be idly given away, as forfeitures eſcheats and wards, were reſtrained to the Crown and kept to the King himſelf.

There remained upon conſiderations of encreaſing the Demeſns of the Crown, the Lands of the Earl of *March*, whoſe Father had rebelled againſt the Kings Father *Robert*; though faults be perſonal, and not hereditary and the heirs of ancient houſes hold little of their laſt poſſeſſours, but of their Predeceſſours, thoſe the King ſeized on. The Earl proved by good evidences and writings brought forth, his Father had been pardoned for that fault by the Regents of the Kingdom; he was anſwered again, that it was not in the Regents power to pardon an offence againſt the State, and that it was expreſly provided by the Laws in crimes of *Leſe Majeſty*, That children ſhould undergo puniſhment for their Fathers tranſgreſſions, to the end that being thus heirs to their Fathers raſhneſs, as they are to their Goods and Lands, they ſhould not at any time with vaſt ambition in the haughty Pride of their own Power, plot or practiſe to ſhake and tear the Publick Peace of the Prince and Country.

Thus was the remiſſion by the Parliament declared void, and *Earl George* himſelf committed to the Caſtle at *Edenbrough*. *William Earl* of *Anguſs* Warden of the Middle March, *William Creightoun* Chancellour, Sir *Adam Hepburn* of *Hailles* immediately received the Caſtle of *Dumbar*, the keeping of which was given to Sir *Adam Hepburn*.

The King not long after ſet *Earl George* at Liberty, and to ſave him from the like dangers which were wont to befall his Predeceſſours (to fly into *England* for every ſmall croſs and light diſpleaſure at Court) he beſtowed on him, as it were in exchange, for theſe lands in the *Marſs*, the Earldom of *Buchan* in

in the North, with a yearly penſion to be paid out of the Earldom of *March*, ſetting the *Tay* and the *Forth* betwixt him and his too kind friends of *England*. *Buchan* had faln to the King by the deceaſe of *John* who was Son to *Robert* the ſecond and *Earl* of *Buchan*, he was ſlain at *Vernveill* in *France*, with the Marſhal *Duglaſs*, and left no lawful children after him to ſucceed. The *Earldom* of *Marre* was incorporate alſo to the Demeſn Royal by the deceaſe of *Alexander Stuart* Earl of *Marre*, who was natural Son to *Alexander Stuart* who was the Son of *Robert* the Second. He was a Man of ſingular proweſs, and in his youth followed the Wars under *Philip* Duke of *Bargundy*; he married *Jane* Daughter to the Earl of *Holland*, and had greatly obliged his Country by tranſporting Stallions and Mares hither out of *Hungary*, the Stood of which continued long after to his commendation and the commodity of the Kingdom.

The Earldom of *Strathern* was appropriated alſo to the Crown by the Deceaſe of *David Stuart* Earl of *Strathern*, Uncle to the King, who having but one only Daughter (who was married to *Patrick Graham* a younger brother of the Lord *Grahams*) the *Earldom* being tailed to the Maſculine Line was devolved again to the Crown. Thus did King *James* ſucceed to three Brothers who were Sons to *Robert* the Second.

All good men with theſe proceedings of the King were well pleaſed; for if Princes could keep their own, and that which juſtly belongeth unto them, they could not be urged to draw ſuch extraordinary Subſidies from the blood, ſweat, and tears of their people; yet was this the Shelf on which this Prince periſhed: for, many who were accuſtomed to be copartners of ſuch off-fallings, began to ſtorm and repine

pine at his actions, but none was ſo implacable as *Robert Graham*, Uncle and Tutor to *Miles Graham*, the Son of *Euphem*, daughter to *David* Earl of *Strathern*. For plotting miſchief he began to rail, ſpeak in high terms, aſſociate himſelf with others of his own mind. Notwithſtanding that the King *Anno* 1428. in *September* had beſtowed on his Nephew the Lands and Earldom of *Monteeth* in compenſation of that of *Strathern*, to which he pretended right, it being an appenage of the Crown.

About this time Embaſſadors came into *Scotland* from *Ericus* the King of *Denmark*, requiring of King *James* the payment of a yearly Tribute, which was due to him as King of *Norway* for the Weſtern Iſles, according to the Covenant and Agreement made by *Alexander* the third, King of *Scotland*, and his Predeceſſor *Magnus*, the ſon of *Acho*, then King of *Norway*; the Embaſſador was honourably received, and Sir *William Creighton* Chancellor, directed to go with him to *Denmark*, who there renewed the old League between the Realms, ſetled queſtionable matters, and confirmed a perfect amity and ſtedfaſt Peace.

Embaſſadors came alſo from *Charles* the *French* King, not only to confirm the old Amity between *Scotland* and *France*, but for a better aſſurance thereof, to have *Margaret* eldeſt Daughter to King *James* (already betrothed to *Lewis* the *Daulphin*, who now was thirteen years of Age) delivered to them and convoyed to *France*. The *Engliſh* foreknowing this Alliance, had before ſent the Lord *Scroop* with other Aſſociates to him in Embaſſage, to have the old League between the *French* and the *Scots* diſſolved, and to joyn the Kings Daughter in marriage with *Henry* the ſixth their King; promiſing if the King would thereunto agree, and joyn in League with them

them, that the Town and Caſtle of *Berwick* ſhould be delivered to the Power of the *Scots*, with all the Lands lying between *Tweed* and the *Redcroſs*, which when *William* the Conquerour granted *Cumberland* to the *Scots*, marched *England* and *Scotland*, and is now a fragment of a Croſs in *Richmond*-ſhire, neer the Spittle on *Stanmoor* about which is nothing but a wild deſert.

Having Audience, the Lord *Scroop* ſpake before the Council to this purpoſe:

I am directed hither by my Maſter and his Council about a buſineſs which concerneth the Honour and profit of the two Kingdoms, above any other which can be projected; and it is the eſtabliſhing of a perpetual Peace and Concord between them, and happily (when it ſhall pleaſe the higher Providence) their uniting in one Body, under one Prince, one day. How vain the attempting of this heretofore by Arms hath proved, the world can but too well bear witneſs; the many proofs of eithers valour againſt themſelves having been but a laviſh effuſion of humane Blood; the faireſt way, the eaſieſt means to make enmities ceaſe and theſe ancient Quarrels, was begun, Sir, in your Perſon, by the happy Marriage of the Daughter of John *Duke of* Somerſet, *brother to King* Henry *the fourth, and Son to the Duke of* Lancaſter; *and proſperouſly hath continued theſe years paſt: Now the Peace may be laſting, and the affections and minds of the two Nations ſoldered together: Our Requeſt is, that this Alliance may be again renewed, by the Marriage of your eldeſt Daughter with our young King, a moſt fitting and equal match. And in ſeeking of her, we crave but our own; She is deſcended of our Royal Stem, and if again ſhe be ingrafted in that ſtock out*

of

of which ſhe ſprang, it is but natural. And you (my Lords) where can ye find a Match more Honourable for both Nations? Where can ye find a better and more profitable friendſhip than Ours? Are we not a people inhabiting one Iſland, have we not both one Language, are we not of like Habit and Faſhion, of like quality and condition of Life, guarded and ſeparated from the other World by the great depths of the Ocean? What evil Cuſtoms have come into your Countrey by your laſt Allyance with us? Nay, what Civility, Policy, and laudable Faſhions (to the confuſion of Barbarity) have not followed hereupon? By this the Glory of both Realms will encreaſe, either being ſufficient not only to furniſh neceſſaries, but even all lawful and moderate contentments of life to ſupport others. Beſides that, an aſſurance of Defence, Strength, and Power to invade, eaſe in undergoing publick Charges will hereby follow.

We are not ignorant that your Lady is deſigned for France; *but how long (alaſs) will ye continue prodigal of your blood for the* French? *What have ye advantaged your ſelves by your Alliance with* France, *ſave that they engage your bodies in their Wars, and by conferring upon you unprofitable titles of honour, take from you what is truly real? ye are reſerved a Poſtern-gate, by which they may enter* England, *diverting our Forces, and tranſporting the Stage of the War upon our Borders. Learn to forget your* French, *or if ye be ſo enamoured with* France, *love her after our manner, come take a ſhare, be partakers of our Victories. Are not our Forces being joyned, ſufficient to overcome, nay, bring in chains hither that King of* Bruges, *and make our ſelves Maſters of his Continent?* France *never did ſo much good to* Scotland *in twenty years, as* Scotland *hath had loſs by* England *for the love and cauſe of* France *in one. Are not your*

wounds

wounds at Vernueil *and* Cravant *yet bleeding, and all for the* French? *It hath been your valour, and not the* French *which heretofore empeached our conqueſt and progreſs in* France: *were it not for your ſwords, we had made ere now the loftieſt tops of the* Alps *or* Pyrenees *bear our Trophies. Ye ſay ye reverence, and cannot break your old League and confederation with that Kingdom (happy Leagues, but wo to the keepers of them!) unhappy* Scotland, *and too too honeſt; and the more unhappy, for that thy honeſty is the great cauſe of thy miſhaps. How long ſhall that old League (counted amongſt the Fables of the Ancient* Falladines) *make you waſte your lives, goods, fortunes, and loſe your better Friends? The Genius of this Iſle ſeemeth to cry unto us her Nurſelings to ſtay our cruel hands, no longer to be her deſolation, and the wrack one of another; not to paſs over and neglect theſe fair occaſions of mutual Alliances, which will not only effectuate Truces and Leagues amongſt our ſelves, but at laſt bring a perpetual Peace and Union; for by interchange of Marriages (being united) this Iſle ſhall continue ſtronger by entertaining Peace and Amity, then by all theſe Giant walls, Rampiers of Mountains, and that huge ditch of Seas, by which Nature hath environed and fortified her. Now that he may know how dearly we eſteem your friendſhip and Alliance, whereas others go to take from you, we will give you* Roxburgh, Berwick, *and all the Lands between* Tweed *and* Redcroſs. *If ſhadows prevail and prove ſtronger with you than eſſential reaſon, and that ye diſeſteem our offer, loſing this good occaſion; we as Neighbours and Friends entreat you, that ye do not uphold the* French, *now in the Sun-ſet of their Fortunes, and at their weakeſt; that ye would not ſhoulder this falling wall; but that ye would live quiet within your ſelves, keeping your own in a Neu-*

trality; receiving both ſides, French *and* Engliſh *in the way of Friendſhip, neither ſide in the way of Faction.*

The French Embaſſadour *ſpoke to this purpoſe.* "It ſeemeth ſtrange to me that it ſhould be queſtio-
"ned and fall within the Circle of deliberation whe-
"ther old, ever true and aſſured Friends; or old,
"never truſted, and only Enemies, ſhould in an ho-
"nourable ſuit be preferred: whether ye ſhould ſtand
"to a Nation which in your greateſt calamities ne-
"ver abandoned you, or embrace and be carried away
"with one which hath ever ſought your overthrow.
"The *Engliſh* ſue for your alliance and friendſhip,
"but it is to make you leave your old Confederates,
"and turn the inſtruments of their ruine, and at laſt
"bring the yoke of bondage upon your ſelves. The
"*French* ſue for your friendſhip and alliance, both
"to ſupport themſelves and hold ſervitude from
"you; were not your friendſhip with *France*, their
"power, policy, and number had long ere theſe days
"over-turned your Realm; or had *France* but
"ſhown her ſelf an indifferent Arbitreſs, of the
"blows between *Scotland* and *England*, ye had
"ſcarce till now kept your Name, leſs your Liber-
"ties; can ye prove ſo ungrateful as not to ſupply
"them who ſupported you? Can ye prove ſo un-
"conſtant, after ſo many glorious wounds received
"in the defence of *France*, as cowardly to turn your
"backs upon her in her greateſt need, defacing all
"the Traces of your former Fame and Glory? with
"what countenances could ye look upon thoſe *Scots*,
"which at *Vernueill* and *Cravant* in the Bed of ho-
"nour left their lives; if unrevenged ye ſhould ad-
"here and joyn your ſelves to their Enemies and
"Killers? Now though ye would forſake the *French*,

"at

"at this time intangled in many difficulties, not re-
"garding their well being, nor be ſolicitous of their
"ſtanding: at leaſt be careful of your own.

"It cannot ſubſiſt with your well and ſafety, to
"ſuffer a bordering Nation, always at enmity with
"you, to ariſe to that height and power by ſuch an
"addition as is the Kingdom of *France*: ſo ſoon
"as a State hath a Neighbour ſtrong, enough and
"able to ſubdue it, it is no more to be eſteemed a free
"Eſtate. The *Engliſh* are already become ſo Po-
"tent, that no leſs than united forces of neighbour
"Kingdoms will ſerve to ſtop the current of their
"fortune. Neglect not the certain love of the
"*French*, your often tryed and ancient friends, for
"the uncertain friendſhip and within a little time,
"forgotten Alliances of the *Engliſh* your late recon-
"ciled Enemies.

"But it may be, after mutual marriages have one
"day joyned your two Kingdoms in one, they will
"ſeek no preheminency over your State, nor make
"thrall your Kingdom, but be knit up with you in
"a perfect union: Do not ſmall brooks loſe their
"names when they commix their Streams with
"mighty Rivers, and are not Rivers ingolfed when
"they mingle their waters with the Seas? Ye enjoy
"now a kind of mixed Government (my Lords) not
"living under abſolute Soveraignty; your King
"proceedeth with you more by Prayers and Requeſts
"than by Precepts and Commandments, and is rather
"your Head than Soveraign, as ruling a Nation not
"conquered: But when ye ſhall be joyned in a Bo-
"dy with that Kingdom which is abſolutely Royal
"and purely Monarchical, having long ſuffered the
"Laws of a Conquerour, ye ſhall find a change and
"a terrible transformation. The free managing of
"your own affairs ſhall be taken from you; Laws,

"Magiſtracies. Honours ſhall depend on them, the "wealth of your Kingdom ſhall be transferred to "theirs; which to obey and proſtrate your ſelves un- "to, if ye be found ſtubborn, ye ſhall ſuffer as a Na- "tion Conquered, be redacted in a Province, have "Deputies and Governours ſet over you, Garriſons "in your ſtrongeſt holds and Caſtles, and by a calm "of Peace and Union receive more fearful blowes "than ye could have ſuffered by any Tempeſt of "War; The miſeries of a moſt lamentable Servi- "tude. What courteſie can ye expect at their hands, "who contrary to all divine and human Laws de- "tained your King eighteen years priſoner, and be- "ſides an exorbitant Ranſom (as if he had been ta- "ken in a lawful war) did not without Hoſtages "ſend him home? We of *France* did never forſake "you in your extremities, and we expect ye will "aſſiſt us with all your power. They are in ſuit of "your Daughter, but it is long after ſhe was aſſured "unto us; in claiming her, we claim but our own, "this time paſt ye have only had the cuſtody and "education of her, yet if they be ſo ambitious of "your Alliance, God hath bleſſed you with more "than this. But it is not that which they ſue for, it "is to make you diſclaim your Friends, hate thoſe "which love you, and love them which hate you: "and they are working upon you as a rude unpoliſht "people. They offer to render you *Berwick* and "*Roxburgh*, theſe gifts of Enemies ought to be fear- "ed; they know it is in their own power to re-obtain "them when they pleaſe.

"As for that point wherein they would have you "indifferent ſpectators of the blowes, and that it ſhall "be profitable for you not to meddle with this War, "ye are too near engaged; neither is there any "thing can be more dammageable unto you; for,

if

"if ye be not of the party, ye may aſſure your ſelves "that your Country ſhall remain a Prey and re- "ward to the Conquerour, with content and ap- "plauſe of the vanquiſhed, who is not bound to ſuc- "cour thoſe who refuſe to aſſiſt and help him in his "neceſſities. Prove firm and conſtant to us your "firſt Confederates, combine your Forces with ours, "and by the aſſiſtance of that Supreme Providence "who pittieth at laſt the oppreſſed, we have fair cer- "tainties and true hopes to cut ſo much work abroad "to the *Engliſh*, that they ſhall do little or no harm "to you at home.

The King and Nobles though it ſeemed more profitable for the preſent time to follow the *Engliſh* (weighing their offers) yet held it more advantageous and ſure for coming times, to follow the *French*, for if the *Engliſh* ſhould make conqueſt of *France*, the Conqueſt of *Scotland* would ſcarce be one Months work to their power? and for matter of Allyance, God knows how little Princes regard it, when occaſion is offered to enlarge their power and Dominion. Thereupon they declare they will not break the ancient League and Peace they have kept with *France*.

The *Engliſh* Embaſſadours denyed of their ſuit, went from Prayers and Requeſts to threatnings and menacings, and having friendſhip refuſed, denounced War. If the King gave his Daughter to the *French*, that they, if they could, would hinder her paſſage by Sea, having already a Fleet prepared to this effect, and thus went away the *Engliſh* Embaſſadours.

The King was ſo far from being moved by theſe threatnings, that immediately he made ready his Ships, and knowing more affairs to be brought to a good end and finiſhed by the opportunity occaſions

than force and power, with an able Company of Mariners and Souldiers ſetteth his Daughter to Sea.

The *Engliſh* Fleet had waited upon her, but (Providence ſo appointed) ſhe eſcaped them, and they encountred a fleet of *Spaniards*, keeping their courſe towards the *Netherlands*. Them they beſet with fourſcore Veſſels, commanding the Ladies and all of their Company to be delivered unto them; when they would not accept of friendly anſwers, they fall to handy blows, till in end by loſs of men and ſome Ships they underſtood their errour: The Lady *Margaret* thus without danger by the *Weſtern* Seas arrived at *Rochel*, having for their Convoy a whole Colony of Gentle-women (the Hiſtories ſay an hundred and forty went with her) all of noble parentage, of which train were her five Siſters: from *Rochel* ſhe held her progreſs to *Tours*, there with an extraordinary Pomp, and Magnificence the Twenty fourth of *June*, *Anno* 1436. was ſhe married to the Daulphin *Lewis*.

The *King* to defray the charges raiſed by tranſporting and marriage of his Daughter (the *French* ſeeking with her ſmall or no Dowry (theſe times preferring Parentage and Beauty before Gold or Riches) all that was craved being a ſupply of Men of Arms for their ſupport againſt the *Engliſh*) laid a Subſidie on his Subjects, the one half of which being levied, and the People grudging and repining at the exacting of the other half, (it being taken from men who lived hardly in a barren ſoyl) He cauſed render a part of it again and diſcharged the remainder.

At this time by Sea and Land the *Engliſh* in revenge of the refuſal of the offers of their Ambaſſadours began to uſe all Hoſtility againſt the *Scots*.

Henry

Henry Piercy of *Northumberland* invadeth the Country with four thouſand men; whether of his own bravery, abhorring eaſe and idlenes, or that he had a Commiſſion ſo to do, is uncertain, with him came Sir *Henry Cliddeſdale*, Sir *John Ogle*, *Richard Piercy*, and many men of choice and worth, the frontier Garriſons invade all places near unto them. To reſiſt theſe incurſions *William Dowglaſs* Earl of *Anguſs* getteth charge, a man reſembling his Anceſtors in all vertues either of War or Peace, and the moſt eminent of his time: with him went *Adam Hepburn* of *Hailes*, *Alexander Elphinſtoun* of *Elphinſtoun* in *Lothian*, and *Alexander Ramſey* of *Dalhowſie*, of all being Four thouſand ſtrong. Theſe covetous of glory, beſides the ancient quarrel of the two Nations, having the particular emulations of the Names and Valour of their Anceſtors to be ſpurs unto them, make ſpeedy journeys to have a proof of their vertue and courage. The Liſts of their meeting was *Popperden*, a place not far from *Bramſtoun*, *Rhodam*, *Roſeden*, *Eglingham*, all cheared with the ſtream of a ſmall Brook, named *Crammiſh*, which ariſing out of the *Cheviot*, loſeth its name in the *Till*, as the *Till* after many windings diſgorgeth it ſelf in the *Tweed*. *Adam Hepburn*, and *Alexander Elphinſtoun* led the Van-guard of the *Scots*; Sir *Richard Piercy*, Sir *John Ogle* of the *Engliſh*; *Alexander Ramſey* and *Henry Cliddiſdail* kept the Rears; the two Generals rode about the Armies, remembring them of their ancient valour, the wrongs received, the juſtneſs of the Quarrel, the glory of the Victory, the ſhame of the overthrow. No ſooner were they come within diſtance of joyning when the ſound of the Drums and Trumpets was out-noiſed by the ſhouts of the Aſſailants, who furiouſly ren-countred. The Guns being about this time found out, were here firſt practiſed

between the *Scots* and the *Engliſh* in an open field. When the Fight with equal order had been long maintained on both ſides, now the *Scots*, then the *Engliſh* yielding ground, many of the Commanders at length began to fall, moſt of the *Engliſh*. Then was the *Piercy* conſtrained to be at once Commander and Souldier, but ere he could be heard ſome Companies had turned their backs, among the thickeſt throngs of which breaking in, he found ſo great diſorder, that neither by Authority, Intreaty or Force he was able to ſtay their flying. Thus diſtracted between the two courſes of honour and ſhame, he is hurried far from the place of Fight: And Victory declared her ſelf altogether for the *Scots*; which was not ſo great in the execution, as in the death and captivity of ſome brave men. Of the *Scots*, Two hundred Gentlemen and common Souldiers were ſlain, amongſt which was *Alexander Elphinſtoun*, maintaining the Battel with his ſword, voice and wounds, and two other Knights. Of the *Engliſh* died, Sir *Henry Cliddiſdail*, Sir *John Ogle*, Sir *Richard Piercy*, with fifteen hundred Gentlemen and common Souldiers, of which fourty were Knights, four hundred were taken Priſoners.

The King irritated by the way-laying of his Daughter, the Invading of his Borders, and encouraged not a little by this little ſmile of Fortune at *Popperden*, it being more ſure to prevent than repel dangers, and with the ſame Policies to defend by which the Enemies offend, reſolveth by open Wars to Invade *England*. He was alſo ſtirred unto this by his intelligence from his friends in *France*, who had brought greater matters to paſs then in ſo ſhort a time could have been expected; for concealed envy and old malice, burſting out between *Richard* Duke of *York*, and *Edmund* Duke of *Sommerſet*, *Philip* Duke

Duke of *Burgundy* being entred in friendſhip with King *Charles*, the *Engliſh* began to be daily loſers, and were put out of *Paris* and many Towns of *France*. To this effect King *James* having raiſed an Army cometh to *Roxburgh* (a place fatal to his) and there beſiegeth the Caſtle of *Marchmond*, which is *Roxburgh*, it was valiantly defended by Sir *Ralph Gray*: but when he was come ſo near the end of his labours that they within the Caſtle were driven to terms of Agreement and conditions for giving up the Fort, the Queen in great haſte cometh to the Camp, repreſenting to her Husband a Conſpiracy, the greatneſs of the peril of which, if it were not ſpeedily prevented, ſhould endanger his Eſtate, Perſon, and Race. Whether ſhe had any inckling of the Conſpiracy indeed, or contrived this to divert his Forces from the Aſſault, and further harm of the *Engliſh* her Friends and Countreymen, it is uncertain. The King who found his imagination wounded upon this point, after many doubtful reſolutions and conflicts in his thoughts, raiſeth the Siege, disbandeth the Army, and accompanied with ſome choſen Bands of his moſt aſſured Friends returned back, to provide for his own ſafety. A ſtrange reſolution, to disband an Army for a tale of Treaſon; where could there be greater ſafety for a King than in an Army? Yet have Conſpiracies been often in Camps, and in his own time, *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, brother to *Edward* Duke of *York*, *Henry* Lord *Scroope*, with Sir *Thomas Gray*, at the inſtigation of the *Daulphin* of *France*, for a great ſum of money conſpired to Murder *Henry* the Fifth, King of *England*, in the midſt of his Armies, if they had not been ſurpriſed. The King feared all, becauſe he had not yet heard the names of any, but moſt the Army, by reaſon of the Nobility, many of which, who liked not the

the preſent form of Government, were irritated againſt him. Were the Conſpiracy a Rebellion, and in general by them all, they were ready in Arms to maintain their Factions, and if upon ſuſpicion the King ſhould attach any (being ſecretly joyned in a League) He could hardly have medled with their perſons, without a Civil War, which in regard of his Engagement with *England* he endeavoured to ſpare; perplexed, penſive, ſad, he cometh to *Perth*, ſtayeth in the Covent of the *Dominicans*, named the *Blackfriers* (a place not far from the Town Wall) endeavouring ſo ſecretly as was poſſible to find out the Conſpiracy. But his cloſe practiſing was not unknown to the Conſpirators, as that there was more peril to reſolve than execute a Treaſon, a diſtance of time between the Plot and execution, diſcovering and overthrowing the enterpriſe: Hereupon they determine to hazard on the miſchief, before tryal or remedy could be thought upon.

The Conſpirators were *Robert Graham*, Uncle and Tutor to *Miles Graham*, *Robert Stuart*, Nephew to *Walter* Earl of *Athol*, and one of the Kings ſworn Domeſticks: But he who gave motion to all, was the Earl of *Athol* himſelf, the Kings Fathers Brother, whoſe quarrel was no leſs then a pretended title and claim to the Crown; which he formed and alledged thus. His Brother *David* and he were procreated by King *Robert* the Second on his firſt Wife *Eupheme Roſs* daughter to the Earl of *Roſs*, and therefore ought and ſhould have been preferred to the ſucceſſion of the Crown, before King *John* (named *Robert*) and all the Race of *Elizabeth Moor*, who was but his ſecond wife, and next them but Heirs to King *Robert* the ſecond.

They were the eldeſt ſons of King *Robert* after he was King, *John* and *Robert* being born when he was

was but in a private State, and Earl of *Strathern*; for it would appear, that as a Son born after his Father hath loſt his Kingdom, is not eſteemed for the Son of a King, ſo neither he that is born before the Father be a King. Theſe reaſons he thought ſufficient, the King taken away, to ſet him in the room of State. But conſidered not how ſacred the name of a King is to the *Scots* Nation; how a Crown once worn quite taketh away what defects ſoever: and that it was not eaſie to diveſt a King in preſent poſſeſſion of a Crown, who had his right from his Father and Grandfather, with the Authority of a Parliament, approving his Deſcent, and ſecluding all other; leſs came it in his thought, that thoſe children are Legitimate, and lawful which cannot be thruſt back and rejected, without troubling the common Peace of the Country, and opening Gates to Forreign Invaſions, Domeſtical diſturbances, and all diſorders, with an unſetled courſe of Succeſſion: the common Errour making the Right or Law.

Athol animated by the Oracle of a Sooth-ſayer of his Highland Country, who had aſſured him he ſhould be crowned in a Solemn Aſſembly before his Death, never gave over his hopes of obtaining the Crown: and being inferiour and weak in power and faction to the other Brothers, to compaſs his deſigns he betaketh himſelf to treacherous devices. It was not in his power to ruine ſo many at once; for miſchief required there ſhould be diſtance between ſo many bloody Acts, therefore he layeth his courſe for the taking away of his kindred one by another at leaſure; he ſoweth jealouſies, entertaineth diſcords, maintaineth factions amongſt them; by his counſel *David* Duke of *Rotheſay* the Kings eldeſt Brother was famiſhed in the Tower of *Falkland*, neither had *James* (then a child) eſcaped his treachery, if far off

in

in *England* he had not been preſerved: He perſwaded the Earl of *Fife*, that, making out of the way the King his Brother, he ſhould put the Crown on his own head: He trafficked the return of King *James*, and he being come, he plotted the overthrow of Duke *Mordock*, by fit Inſtrument for ſuch a buſineſs, proving the Crimes laid againſt him in the Attaindor, he himſelf ſat Judge againſt him, and his Children. Thus ſtirring one of the Kinſmen againſt another, he ſo enfeebled the Race of *Elizabeth Moor*, that of a numerous off-ſpring there only remained *James* and his Son (a childe not yet ſix years of Age) upon whoſe Sepulchers building his deſigns, with a ſmall alteration of the State he thought it an eaſie ſtep to the Crown.

Robert Graham had been long impriſoned, at laſt releaſed; but being a man implacable once offended, and cruel, whom neither buſineſs could oblige, nor dangers make wiſe, an enemy to Peace, Factious and Ambitious alike, by many wicked Plots afterwards, and Crimes againſt the Laws of the Country driven to an Out-lawry, and to live as baniſhed; he had ever a male-talent againſt the King ſince the adjudging of the Earldom of *Strathern* from his Nephew *Miles*.

Robert Stuart was very familiar with the King, and his acceſs to his Chamber and Perſon advanced the Enterpriſe: being a riotous young man, gaping after great matters, neither reſpecting Faith nor Fame, and daring attempt any thing for the accompliſhing of his own fooliſh hopes, and his Grandfathers aims and ambition. Theſe having aſſociated unto them the moſt audacious, whom either fear of puniſhment for their miſdeeds, or hopes of preferment by a change of the Government would plunge into any enterpriſe; in the moneth of *February* ſo ſecretly

ſecretly as was poſſible, aſſembled together, where the Earl ſpake to this ſenſe unto them.

Theſe engagements which every one of you have to another, and which I have to every one of you, founded on the ſtrongeſt grounds of conſanguinity, friendſhip, intereſt of committed and received wrongs, move me freely here to reveal my ſecret drifts, and diſcover the depths of my hidden purpoſes and counſels.

The ſtrange Tragedies which in the State and Government have been enacted, ſince the coming of this Engliſh *man to the Crown, are to none of you unknown:* Mordock *with his children hath been beheaded, the Earl of* Lenox *his Father in Law had that ſame end, the Nobility repine at the Government of their King, the* King *is in jealouſie of his Nobles, the* Commons *are in way of rebellion. Theſe all have been the effects of my far-mining Policies. And hitherto they have fallen forth as fortunately, as they were ingeniouſly Plotted. For, what more ingenious and cunning Stratagem could be projected, to decline the rank growth of theſe Uſurpers, then to take them away by handles made of their own Timber? And if there was any wrong in ſuch proceedings, in ſmall matters wrong muſt be done, that juſtice and equity may be performed in great. My fear was (and yet is) that the taking down of the Scaffold of* Mordock *ſhould be the putting up of ours: Crowns ſuffer no corrivals, the world knows and he himſelf is conſcious to it, that the right and title of the Crown, by deſcent of blood from* Robert *the ſecond my Father, was in the perſon of* David *my Brother, and is juſtly claimed now by me and our Nephew. As for an Act of Parliament confirming the right of that other Race, and for oaths of Allegiance, no Parliamentary Authority can take away Juſtice, and the Law of God: neither is an oath to be obſerved when as it tendeth to the*

Suppreſſion

Suppression of truth and right; and though for a time such Acts and Oaths have prevailed, our designs having good Success we shall have a Parliament approving our right, abolishing their pretentions, and declaring them Usurpers. This one man and a child taken away (if we can give the blow) the Kingdom must obey the Lawful Successor; against whom what Subject will revolt, or who dare take armes? and here is more fear than danger. But think there were, the only remedy of eminent dangers is new dangers. It was simplicity in him to think by small benefits that old injuries are abolished and forgot, and that I should take patiently the title of Earl, when I should have been King my self; by his tyrannizing justice, if he be not hated he is not beloved, but become terrible to his people, who now through their poverty and grievances affect a novation, and obey him not out of any affection, but through necessity and fear, and now he also feareth that some do that to him which he hath deserved.

Let us resolve his doubts, our ends are honour and revenge, our wills against him all alike and one. The Heavens seem to conspire with us, having brought him to disband his Army, and render himself in the wished place of our attempts, and let us rather follow them and fortune, which favours great actions, than vertue that preacheth cowardly Patience; Remembring how fair glosses of valour for the most part have been cast on the fouleſt deeds, and the mightiest Families have from them derived their honours, shame seldom or never following Victory, however it be atchieved and purchased. That Soveraignty at the first was but a violent usurpation of the stronger over the weaker. How great Enterprizes must begin with danger, but end with rewards, that death should rather be prevented than expected; and that it is more honourable

to die, than prolong a life in miſery, wandring in the ſcorn of other mens pride, be reſolute in our Plot, put the enterprize in execution, haſt is the ſpirit of actions of danger, the worſt that can befal us is, ſince we cannot ſubſiſt he being alive, that he be taken away whilſt we run a hazard of death, which happeneth to all men alike, with only the difference of Fame or Oblivion with the Poſterity, which ariſeth of an evil action, as well of a good, if the action and attempt be great, but let us not ſpend the time of execution in deliberation.

Not long after when they had pondered and digeſted the Deſign, *Graham* and *Stuart* with their accomplices guided by *Reſolution*, and guarded by the darkneſs of the Night, came to the *Blackfryers* of *Perth*, and having the way made open unto them entred the Gallery before the Kings Chamber-door, where they attended ſome of their confederates, who ſhould have ſtoln away the Bar, by which means they might enter the Chamber, but before their coming, Fortune caſteth the occaſion in their hands.

For *Walter Stratoun* one of the Kings Cupbearers came forth of the Chamber, and finding armed men ruſhing rudely to force their entrie, terrifyed with the boldneſs of the Fact, with a high voice gave the Alarm of Treaſon to his Maſter. While they are working his death, a Maid of honour of the Name of *Dowglaſs* got to the door, and eſſaied to ſhut it, but for that the Bar was now away which ſhould have made it faſt, ſhe thruſt her arm in the place where it would have paſſed, but that eaſily broken, the Conſpirators ruſh into the Chamber, and ſlaying all ſuch of the waiters as made defence (amongſt which was *Patrick Dumbar* Brother to *George* ſometime Earl of *March*) they at laſt ſtroke down the King; whom whilſt the Queen by interpoſing her body ſought to

ſave

ſave (being hardly pulled from him) ſhe received two wounds, and he with twenty eight, moſt towards the heart, was left dead.

1436 Thus was King *James* the firſt who had ſo ſuperabundantly deſerved well of the Common-wealth, Murthered the One and twentieth of *February* in the end of the year One thouſand four hundred thirty and ſix, the forty fourth of his age when he had Reigned thirteen years.

This King was for the proportion and ſhape of his body of a middle ſtature, thick and ſquare, rather ſomewhat mean than tall, not ſuch as is counted for dainty, but for gracefulneſs and Majeſty. His hair was abourn, a colour between white and red. He was of ſo ſtrong and vigorous a conſtitution, that he was able to endure all extraordinary extremities both of travel and want, and ſurpaſſed for agility and nimbleneſs in any exerciſe his Companions. He was of ſo ſharp and pregnant a wit that there was nothing wherein the commendation of wit conſiſted or any ſhadow of the liberal Arts did appear, that he had not applied his mind unto: ſeeming rather born to Letters than inſtructed. He wrote Verſes both *Latine* and *Engliſh*, of which many yet are extant: He exerciſed all Inſtruments of Muſick, and equalled the beſt Profeſſours thereof. He had ſtudied all Philoſophy, but moſt that which concerns Government; in which, what a Maſter he was, the order which he eſtabliſhed in ſuch a confuſion as he found in the State doth witneſs; and many old Laws commodiouſly renewed and amended, others for the publick good eſtabliſhed. He was a great obſerver of Religious Forms: eaſie for acceſs, fair in ſpeech and countenance, in behaviour kind, uſing ſleep and meat to live, not for voluptuouſneſs. He had good command over his Paſſions, his deſires never being above

above his reaſon, nor his hopes inferiour to his deſires. Though he was much obliged to the gifts of Nature, yet was he more to his good education and training in *England.* Scarce had he paſſed the ninth year of his age when he was committed to the Sea to ſhun the Treaſons of his Uncle, and was ſurprized at *Flambrough*-head in *Holderneſs.* *Windſor* Caſtle kept him a Priſoner, but by Commandment of King *Henry* he was ſo carefully inſtructed that no Prince could have been better bred in the Schools of *Europe.* What his valour was, the wars of *France* bear witneſs: for accompanying the King of *England* there, he layed ſiege to the Town of *Direx*, and with ſuch violence and valour (ſaith the *Engliſh* Hiſtory) aſſaulted it for the ſpace of ſix weeks, that with main ſtrength he compelled it to be rendred to his hands, and gave it to King *Henry.* That commendation which was given him by that ſame King of *England*, being recorded by their writers, proved prophetically true of him. For the King remembring him of his benefits received, and promiſing him greater, with free liberty to return to his own Country, if he could cauſe the *Scots* who were adherent to the *Daulphin* of *France* to return to their native ſoyl and leave him; To this he anſwered, He was a Priſoner, had no poſſeſſion of his Realm that he was neither ſworn to his Subjects, nor they by any Oath of Allegiance bound to him; and though he were bound to them, and they to follow his commandment he would foreſee whether it were to him honourable, and to his Realm honeſt, to leave their old Friend of *France* in his extreem neceſſity without aid or comfort. With this anſwer, though the King was not content, when *James* went out of his preſence, he is Recorded to have ſaid, *Happy ſhall they be which ſhall be Subjects to a King endued with ſuch wiſdom of*

ſo tender years of age. His ſeverity in Juſtice was traduced by ſome under terms of cruelty, but conſidering the diſorders of his Country, by the fierce nature of the People over whom he ruled, who by often Rebellions did not only exaſperate him to ſome ſeverity, but even conſtrain him to keep them in awe, his rigour was rather an effect of neceſſity than of his natural diſpoſition. No Prince did more reverently entertain Peace at Home amongſt his Subjects, nor more willingly conclude the ſame amongſt Strangers. There is no Prince more cruel than he, who by a facility and evil meaſured pity, ſuffers Robberies, Rapes, Murders, and all ſorts of oppreſſion and abuſes to overturn his Country, by which a whole State is intereſſed, when the ſtricteſt Juſtice toucheth but ſome particular perſons. By him abuſes were reformed, defects repaired, ſedition and diſcord was put from the Nobles, equity and induſtry reſtored to the Country, every man had a certainty of enjoying his own and ſecurity. Into all men was either infuſed a will to do well, or a neceſſity of ſo doing impoſed upon them, vertuous actions being honoured, crimes puniſhed. The mean man did reſpect the great, not fear him; the great man did precede the mean, not contemn him; favour was maſtered by equity, ambition by vertue: for the excellent Prince by doing well himſelf had taught his Subjects ſo to do.

He was one of the worthieſt of all the Kings of *Scotland* till his time, of the former Kings it might have been ſaid, The Nation made them Kings, but this King made that People a Nation. He left behind him one Son and ſix Daughters, King *James* the Second, *Margaret* wife to *Lewis* the eleventh, King of *France*; *Elizabeth* Dutcheſs of *Bretaigne*, *Jane* firſt of *Anguſs*, and then Counteſs of *Huntley*, *Elenora* married to *Sigiſmond*, Archduke of *Auſtria*, *Mary*

Mary wife to the Lord of *Camphire*, and *Annabella*; he was buried in the *Charter-houſe* of *Perth* which he had founded, where the Doublet in which he was ſlain was kept almoſt to our time as a Relict, and with execrations ſeen of the People, every man thinking himſelf intereſted in his wrong.

The rumour of his Murther blazed abroad, it is incredible what weeping and ſorrow was through all the Country, for even by them to whom his Government was not pleaſant, he was deplored, and the Act thought execrable. The Nobles of their own accord and motion from all parts of the Kingdom aſſembled and came to *Edenburgh*, and ere they conſulted together (as if they had all one mind) directed troups of armed men through all the quarters of the Kingdom, to apprehend the Murtherers and produce them to Juſtice. Such diligence was uſed (grief and anger working in their minds) that within the ſpace of fourty days all the Conſpiratours were taken, and put to ſhameful deaths. The common ſort, as *Chriſtopher Clawn* or *Cahown* and others, that were of the Council in the Conſpiracy, having had art or part in the Plot were hanged on Gibbets. The chief Actors, that the Commonwealth might publickly receive ſatisfaction, were made ſpectacles of Juſtice by exquiſite torments, the puniſhment of *Athol* was continued three days: on the firſt he was ſtript naked to his ſhirt, and by a Crane fixed in a Cart, often hoiſted aloft, disjoynted, and hanging ſhown to the People, and thus dragged along the great ſtreet of the Town; on the ſecond day he was mounted on a Pillar in the Market-place, he was crowned with a Diadem of burning Iron, with a Plachart bearing, *The King of all Traytors*, thus was his Oracle accompliſhed; on the third he was laid naked along upon a Scaffold, his Belly was ript up, his heart and

bowels taken out and thrown in a fire flickering before his eyes. Laſtly, his head was cut off and fixed in the moſt eminent place of the Town, his body ſent in quarters to the moſt populous Cities of the Kingdom to remain a Trophie of Juſtice.

His Nephew *Robert Stuart* was not altogether ſo rigorouſly handled, for that he did but conſent to others wickedneſs, being only hang'd and quarter'd.

But for that it was notorious, *Robert Graham* had embrewed his hands in the Kings bloud, a Gallows being raiſed in a Cart he had his right hand nailed to it, and as he was dragged along the Street, Executioners with burning Pincers, tearing the moſt fleſhy parts off his Carcaſs, being nip'd, torn, and flay'd, his heart and entrails were thrown in a fire, his head exalted, and his Quarters ſent amongſt the Towns, to ſatisfie the wrath and ſorrow of the injured people; being asked during his torture how he dared put hand in his Prince, he made anſwer, that having Heaven and Hell at his choice, he dared leap out of Heaven and all the contentments thereof, in the flaming bottoms of Hell, an anſwer worthy ſuch a Traytor.

Æneas Sylvius then Legate in *Scotland* for Pope *Eugenius* the fourth (after Pope himſelf) having ſeen this ſudden and terrible Revenge, being a witneſs of the Execution, ſaid he could not tell whether he ſhould give them greater commendations that revenged the Kings death, or brand them with ſharper condemnation that diſtain'd themſelves with ſo hainous a Parricide.

THE



IAMES 2 : Kmg of Scotes
Anō. 1436

THE HISTORY OF THE Reign of James the ſecond, KING of SCOTLAND.

SCarce were the tears dryed for the loſs of the Father, when the three Eſtates of the Kingdom meet, and at *Holy-rood-Houſe*, ſet the Crown upon the head of the Son, then a Child in the ſixth year of his age. The Government of the Realm is truſted to Sir *Alexander Levingſtoun* of *Calendar*; the cuſtody of the Kings perſon with the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* are given to the Chancellor Sir *William Creightoun*, Men for that they had been ever faithful to the Father, without apparent vices, of no capacity to ſucceed, nor entertaining aſpiring thoughts for a Diadem, held worthy of theſe charges and dignities. Good men may ſecure themſelves from Crimes, but not from Envy and Calumnies; for men great in truſt in publick affairs are ever aſſaulted by the ambition of thoſe who apprehend they are leſs in Employment then they conceive they are in merit.

Archembald Earl of *Dowglaſs* grudging mightily that the State had beſtowed thoſe honours upon men far inferiour to him, as though by this the many merits of his Anceſtours had been forgotten, and

his own ſervices neglected; They being ever accuſtomed in times of Peace to be neareſt the Helm of the State, and when any danger of war blazed, ſent abroad to encounter it. In a confuſion of thoſe thoughts being diverſly toſſed, he retireth to his own Caſtles, and after great reſolves proclaimeth, that none of his Vaſſals or Tenants, eſpecially within *Annandale* and *Dowglaſs-Dale* (parts remote from the more Civil Towns of the Kingdom) ſhould acknowledg the preſent Government, or obey any precepts, licences, or proclamations whereunto the Governours or Chancellours hands were ſet. If any queſtion of Law or contention aroſe amongſt his Friends, Vaſſals, Tenants, He knew none fitter to be their Judge, ſentence all their wrongs, attone and take up their quarrels than himſelf. To diſcover to the world the weakneſs of the two Rulers, and how men never ſo well qualified, ſmall in means, and ſilly of power, were not for great places, he giveth way for the increaſing of evil: overſeeing many diſorders, of which he was the ſecret cauſe, eſpecially the inſolencies of vagabonding and ravaging Borderers. Men of purpoſe ſent forth to ſpoil and rifle the more quiet parts of the Country, and to cut work to theſe ſtrengthleſs Stateſ-men, as he named them. Thus as overcome with ſloth and pleaſure, he paſſed ſome moneths amidſt Country contentments, expecting what effect time would bring forth of the equal authority of thoſe two Governours; for to fit minds equal in authority to ſo even a temper that they ſhould not have ſome motions of diſſenting, he thought impoſſible. Neither did his conjecture fail him, the event being the only judge of opinions: for after this the Governour began to jarr with the Chancellour for ingroſſing wholly to himſelf from his Partner the perſon of the King, as an honour which could

could not altogether be ſeparate from his place, and which would give the greater authority to his proceedings; urging, the Chancellour in many other matters had uſurped and taken upon him more than the Parliament granted. The Chancellour was no better affected towards the Governour; what the Governour commanded to be done, he one way or other over-turned. The buildings of the one was by the other demoliſh'd: by common and continual brawlings thus living in turmoil, neither of them was obeyed, the Country uſurped, a licentious liberty, every man doing what he thought beſt for his particular advantage and gain. The remote Villages of the Kingdom are left a prey to the lawleſs multitude: where their authority is ſcorned, turn places of Robbery; where admitted, places of faction.

The Queen all this time, after her ordinary cuſtom remained in the Caſtle of *Sterling*. The diviſions, partialities, jealouſies of the Rulers, ſhe taketh in an evil part, knowing uſually they had a dangerous conſequence. She had ever found the Governour ſincere and loyal in his proceedings; againſt his counſel and will, her Son was kept from her by the Chancellour whom the great ones hated for poſſeſſing the King, for drawing to Offices of beſt truſt and benefit his own creatures, diſplacing ſuch he ſuſpected to favour his partner in Rule; and the Commons loved him not, as managing every thing after his pleaſure to their damage and loſs. Tranſported by divers motions ſhe at laſt reſolveth to change the Game of State, and by a womaniſh conceit befool Maſculine Policy. To effectuate her purpoſe ſhe came to *Edenburgh*, and by many fair and paſſionate ſpeeches obtained of the Chancellour to enter the Caſtle and delight her ſelf ſome days with the company of her Son. Then to countenance her Plot, ſhe giveth

out a Pilgrimage intended by her to the white Kirk in *Buchan*: There will ſhe make offerings for the health of the King, and perform her other vows. The honeſt State-man, who thought it diſloyalty to diſtruſt a Queen, and a Mother, whom years had made reverend; and impiety to hinder ſuch religious intentions, giveth leave to her ſelf with ſome Servants to remain in the Caſtle, and to tranſport her houſhold ſtuff and other neceſſaries after what manner ſhe pleaſed. In this time ſhe perſuadeth the King, wantonly ſet and delighting to be obſequious to *Her* his Mother to be handſomly couched in a Trunk, as if he had been ſome fardel of her apparel, and conveyed by one of her truſtieſt Servants upon a Sumpter-horſe to *Leith*: from whence he was put forward by water to *Sterling*, there received by the Governour, and welcomed with great joy and laughter, at the manner of their ſo quaintly deceiving the grave man.

By this advantage the Reins of Rule were now taken by the Governour; The Queens trick is approved, his own proceedings are ſtrengthned and confirmed. Proclamations are made againſt the Chancellour, and he charged to render the Caſtle of *Edenburgh* to the King: which he refuſed to do, by a great Power raiſed by the Governour of the Countrey, and the Queens, and his own followers, he is beſieged and blocked up within the Caſtle.

The Chancellour ready to fall in the danger, conſidering he had to do with too ſtrong a party, implor-eth the aſſiſtance of the Earl of *Dowglaſs*: but the Earl as a matter he had long expected and earneſtly wiſhed might fall forth, refuſeth to aſſiſt any of them, ſaying, *It belonged not to the ancient Nobility to ſuccour theſe Muſhrooms, whoſe ambition with no leſs could be ſatiate than the Government of the whole Realm.* This diſdainful anſwer, procured a meeting

of

of the two Rulers, which concluded in the rendring of the Caſtle to the Governour, and a promiſe of true friendſhip between them, that they might not prove a ſport to the envious Nobility. The Governour to ſhew the roundneſs of his intentions and his honeſty, continueth the Chancellour in his office; and reſtoreth him to the keeping of the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*. After this agreement the Earl of *Dowglaſs* left this world at *Reſtalrigge* the year One thouſand four hundred thirty nine, leaving behind him a Son born of the Earl of *Crawfords* daughter, named *William*, who ſucceeded to his Fathers Honours and Ambition.

Malcolm Flamin of *Cammarnald*, and *Allan Lawder* upon this young Earls oath of Allegiance to the Crown of *France*, obtain to him from the *French* King the Dutchy of *Tourrain*, which his Father had enjoyed, and given to *Archibald* his Grandfather ſlain at *Vernueil*. This forein dignity with his titles at home made the young man very haughty, and to forget moderation, Diſcretion in youth ſeldom attending great fortunes. He ſurpaſſed far the King in his followers and train, being accuſtomed to have hundreds of Horſe men attending him; moſt of which were Robbers and men living upon unlawful ſpoils all under his Protection: But however thus he ſeemed to ſet forth his greatneſs, this ſeemed much to bewray a diſtruſt, and that he rather travelled amongſt a people which hated him, than amongſt his friends and men lovingly diſpoſed.

James Stuart Son to the Lord of *Lorne* about this time marryed the Queen Dowager, not ſo much out of love of her Perſon as Dowry, as of Ambition, by her means intending to reach the Government of the State, and get into his cuſtody the Perſon of the King. And that it might rather ſeem the work of

others

others out of conveniency, than any appetite of his own, he ſo inſinuated himſelf with the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, that the Earl eſſayed to lay the firſt groundwork of his aims. The Governour who never wanted his own Spies near the Queen, at the firſt inkling of this novation committed both him and his Brother *William* into the Caſtle of *Sterlin*. The Queen whether ſhe followed her Husband, or was reſtrained, uncertain, ſtaied with them, and now began to repent her of the former courteſies done to the Governour; wiſhing her Son had yet remained in the cuſtody of the Chancellour, who, not ſo diſpleaſed at their impriſonment as he appeared in outward-ſhow (delighting in the errours of his Partner) by *Alexander* Earl of *Huntley* trafficked and wrought their liberty. Thus inſinuating himſelf in the Queens favour, he irritated her againſt the Governour: whom yet outwardly he entertained with ceremonies of Friendſhip, approving his Sagacity in preventing a ſtorm in the State before it brake forth: here the Governour found how that ſame Key which can open a Treaſure can ſhut it up: for after this the Queen prepared her Son for a change. The Governour carefully miniſtring Juſtice at *Perth*, the Chancellour one morning coming to the Park of *Sterling* where the King was hunting, by the providence of his Mother more early raiſed for this ſport, ſhe bewailed the preſent eſtate of his Court, that he was thralled to the covetouſneſs and pleaſure of others, living under the power of a man greedy of Rule: that a King of *France* is declared to be of full years and Major the fourteenth of his age, that a Prince ſhould transfer his affection eſpecially in tender years; that by an eſcape he might enjoy a princely freedom, better know himſelf, and make his Rulers reliſh his Authority; that three hours was

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ſometimes of more importance than three days, and one hour of more than all the three; that he ſhould take hold of the preſent occaſion offered him. Prepared with ſuch informations he is no ſooner accoſted by the Chancellour, when approving his motions he poſted towards *Edenburgh* with him: received all the way as he went with many companies of the Chancellours friends and attendants. The Governour finding the face of the Court altered, by a King young in years and judgment, poſſeſſed by his Mother, diſſimulating his intereſt, in a patient and calm manner cometh to *Edenburgh*, there after long conference and mediation of friends in Saint *Giles*'s Church, he meeteth the Chancellour, and by the Biſhop of *Murray*'s and *Aberdeen*'s diligence an agreement is between them concluded, which was, That the King ſhould remain in the cuſtody of the Chancellour, and the Governour ſhould ſtill enjoy his charge. Amongſt theſe diviſions of the Rulers the Queen all this time handſomly kept ſome authority, affecting and entertaining ſometimes the one of them ſometimes the other, as by turns they governed the King and State.

The many and great diſorders in the Country invited a Parliament: the authority of Magiſtrates was deſpiſed, no juſtice was adminiſtred in many places, few could keep their Goods, or be aſſured of their Lives, but by taking themſelves to the ſervitude of one Faction or other. Troubles aroſe in the Weſt by the ſlaughter of Sir *Allan Stuart* Lord *Darnley*, killed by Sir *Thomas Boyd*; and by the Revenge of his Death taken by *Alexander Stewart* of *Bolmet* his Brother upon the *Boyd*; the Highland Iſlanders invade the Territories adjacent to them, ſpoyl and burn the *Lennox*, where *John Calhowen* of *Luſs* is maſſacred. Theſe cruelties and inſolencies againſt all juſtice

juſtice and authority being avouched ſuch to beware, held fit to be remedied and courſes laid down to obviate them: but *William* Earl of *Dowglaſs* permitting wickedneſs, and winking at miſchief, often approving them for lawful and good policy, whilſt he neither reformed them himſelf by his power, nor ſuffered the Rulers to proceed againſt them by their authority; purchaſed to himſelf the name and reputation of a lawleſs and ſtrong oppreſſor. The three Eſtates aſſembled, complaints being given up againſt Oppreſſours, moſt againſt him and his followers, as the ſource from which the miſeries of the Country ſprang, he appeareth not, nor any to anſwer for him.

The Parliament determinateth to proceed by way of Rigour againſt him; but to this the two Rulers oppoſe, perſuading them that fair ſpeeches and entreaties, was a ſafer and eaſier way to draw unto them a young Man, mighty in riches and power, arrogant by his many Followers and Vaſſals, than to give out a Sentence againſt him before he were heard, and by threatnings ſtir his turbulent and ambitious thoughts, which inſtead of making him calm, might turn his neutrality in a perfect Rebellion: and his inſolency, in madneſs and deſpair. Neither as the preſent eſtate of the Country ſtood, could he without civil blood be commanded and brought in, which by moderation might be effectuate; that verity enjoyed not always that priviledge to be ſpoken in every place and time; it was good to keep up in ſilence matters concerning him, the ſpeaking of which might produce any dangerous effect. Upon this, Letters in their name are ſent unto him, remembring him of the ſplendor and glory of his Anceſtors, the place and dignity he poſſeſſed by them in Parliament: that without his preſence they neither would or could proceed in great matters. If he apprehended any cauſe

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of let or ſtay by the offences and diſorders committed by his Attendants and followers, they would freely remit them, as accidents following the injury of the times, and his yet tender years, his greateſt fault being his giving way out of raſhneſs and negligence to the faults of others. That of himſelf they had conceived ſuch ſingular hopes of great towardneſs and all vertues, if he would come and take a part with them, giving in his complaints and grievances, he ſhould not only have full ſatisfaction, but be honoured with what place or charge in the Government he liked beſt; by honouring them with his Preſence he ſhould oblige not only his Country infinitely but particularly every one of them to ſtand for him to the utmoſt of their powers and wiſhes.

This Letter wrought powerfully upon the Mind of the Earl, by nature and years deſirous of glory and preferment, and believing eaſily that which was plauſible to his hopes. His friends, who now began to promiſe to themſelves new Heavens, think upon great matters, and forecaſt to themſelves by the change of their Lords Fortune, a change of Offices in the State, perſuade him likewiſe to come to the Parliament; and they divulged the certainty of his Progreſs. The Chancellour when he underſtood he was upon his way rode forth of *Edenburgh* to meet him, and by many obſequious complements and friendly blandiſhments allured and drew him to his Caſtle of *Creighton* which was in his way: where ſome days he reſted and was honourably entertained.

Among many healthful admonitions by way of counſel, he told him, that the greatneſs of a Subject conſiſted in due obedience to his Prince, whom he ſhould acknowledge to be his Lord and Maſter.

That by obedience he would vindicate the Name and Families of the *Dowglaſſes*, not only from blame

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of Treaſon, but from all ſuſpition of Novations; that he would endeavour to execute juſtice more ſtrictly than he had done in times paſt, not protect Oppreſſors againſt Laws and Equity, but ſuppreſs all inſolencies of Thieves and Robbers, becauſe cruelties and wrongs never ſtood ſecure before either God or man. That the eſtates of ancient Houſes were often maintained more by reputation of things done, than any other foundation, which a little diſobedience to a Prince might ſhake, if not altogether ruine. That it was fatal to all Princes in their under-age, and the beginnings of their Reigns, to have troubles and ſeditions, and be tormented by ſome of their Subjects who ſtudied novelties; but when theſe Princes came to perfect years, they knew well to chaſtiſe thoſe who troubled the Government in their youth. That he would hereafter rather content himſelf with mediocrity, than expoſe himſelf as a mark to envy. That he would make a proof of his power, not in exceſs and riot or pride of his ancient honours, but in bounty and religious charity toward his Country-men.

That he wiſhed as his Houſe had long continued, it might by following what he had ſpoken unto him ever flouriſh. The Earl of a good inclination, if flatterers and wicked company had been removed, took in good part his advertiſements and counſel, thinking he ſpake as he thought, and (perhaps) ſo he did, for he had not yet put on his double Viſage, and promiſed to repair what offences by youth, negligence, raſhneſs or other indiſcretion had eſcaped him: thus with his Brother *David*, the Chancellour accompanied him to *Edenburgh*.

He had not long there ſtayed, when the frequent meetings, many ſecret conferences of the Governour and Chancellour at their ſeveral houſes, which often held

held the greateſt part of the night, who were not wont to be ſo kind to others, bred a great jealouſie and ſuſpicion in ſome of the Earls friends, that ſome lurking miſchief was a plotting to entrap him. That ſmall truſt ſhould be had in a reconciled enemy, and his many courteſies, and too exceeding favours were to be ſuſpected. Hereupon ſome freely counſel the Earl to return home, and to leave off private meetings with them. Others intreat him not to enter the Caſtle of *Edenburgh* at all, or if he ſhould, to diſmiſs his brother *David*, to keep themſelves ſcattered that that they might not be incloſed in one Net, as upon his Death-bed their Father had inſtructed and admoniſhed them. For if any violent courſe were intended againſt them, men would not dare to put in act againſt one of them which they would againſt both. *David* preſaging ſome ſtrange accident to follow this ſudden kindneſs of the Rulers was meditating an eſcape. The Earl took this counſel in an evil part, ſaying, *Great Families never wanted turbulent friends, to whom common confuſions ſerved ordinarily for ſteps to enlarge their States, when Peace ſendeth the moſt part of them home to live private men.* And they cared not what blame were laid upon their Chiefs, ſo it ſtood with their own commodity; that the pretence of his departure would be worſe than the departure it ſelf, and that he would be obnoxious to worſe ſurmiſes, and more miſerable miſtakings going away, than if he had never appeared. That he preferred the approved truſt of the Chancellour (whoſe Gueſt he had been) to all the objections of dangers they could imagine; which ſuſpicions he requeſted them to ſuppreſs; for to ſuſpect cauſleſly, inſtead of imagining wrong, returned a real injury, and being known, would be a means to breed new jars, and break their begun Friendſhip. Thus blind-

fold

folded by Deſtinie; and accompanied with ſome of his deareſt friends, amongſt whom was Sir *Malcolm Flaming* of *Cammernald*; in ſolemn pomp with his Brother he entred *Edenburgh* Caſtle the Twenty fourth of *November*: the remainder who were thruſt back with ſad countenances and diſtruſting hearts, ſcattered themſelves in the Town.

The Governour, that the envy might be divided and ſhared, and all ſeem to be done by an univerſal conſent, with a ceremonious welcom, and ſuch as hate and emulation could ſuffer to be tempered together, did meet him and guide him to the King: at whoſe Table he was ſet to dine, which favours turned the heart of the young Earl ſo ſoft and relenting, that he wiſhed he had ſooner come to Court, and challeng'd himſelf of his miſtruſtful thoughts; but more his ſuſpicious friends, whoſe preſence he could have deſired to be witneſs againſt themſelves. The counſel given him at *Creighton* Caſtle, by obſequiouſneſs, he reſolveth to thank: the Kings benign aſpect and courteſies of the Rulers had advanced him to the higheſt degree of honour.

Amidſt of theſe entertainments (behold the inſtability of Fortune!) near the end of the Banquet the head of a Bull (a ſign of preſent Death in theſe times) is ſet down before him: At which ſudden Spectacle he leapt from the Table in horror and all agaſt; but this doth little avail him, he hath no power, for he is ceaſed upon by armed Men, who ruſhing out of a cruel tyring Houſe, led him to the utter Court of the Caſtle, not regarding the plaints, cryes, tears of the young King, who pitifully mourned to ſee him manacled with cords: There with his Brother *David*, Sir *Malcolm Flaming* his conſtant friend and compartner of all his Fortunes, he had his head and ambitious thoughts cut off. With this great blow of

State

State the Parliament brake up, leaving grief, terrour, aſtoniſhment in the hearts of all the people, who ever hated the Actors of this Tragedy.

William Earl of *Dowglaſs* and *David* his Brother taken away, the Baron of *Abercorn* their Uncle ſucceeded to the Earldom, by reaſon of his ſtature and corpulency named *James* the Groſs: a man free of any vice or Heroical Vertue, whoſe years were not many after his fortune to be Earl. He was Father to ſeven Sons, the eldeſt of which by a Diſpenſation from the *Pope* he married to *Beatrice*, the only Siſter of his Brothers Son *William*, named *The fair Maid of Galloway*, not ſo much in reſpect of her Beauty, as her Fortunes; the Lands not tailed in *Galloway*, *Annandale*, *Balveny* and *Ormond*, falling from the Heirs male to be her Portion. This Marriage was much blamed and cryed out upon by the Earl of *Angus*, Sir *John Dowglaſs* of *Dalkeith*, and other Gentlemen of that Name, not as they gave out for the propinquity of blood, being between Couſin Germans, but that ſo fair and eaſie a purchaſe was taken out of their arms. They had always followed the King, and procured prohibitions of the Marriage; but theſe with ſpur-haſte advanced the celebration of it, and upon a *Friday*, which the common People prognoſticate to be ominous, and to have ſome ſad event.

This Earl, ambitious, factious, popular, ſubtile, vindicative, prompt in the execution of his enterprizes, liberal and far from the dor-muſe humour of his Father, began to think neither himſelf nor his kindred in ſafety, if the deaths of his Brothers and Couſins, wrought by the two Rulers remained unrevenged, and therefore ſince openly without troubling the common peace of the Country he could not, by ſecret and umbragious ways he laboureth to bring it to

paſs: procuring a far off a diſobedience to their Decrees, and contempt of their Authority, by men in a great diſtance from him in place, blood, friendſhip and familiarity; who after any faſhion grudged, repined, complained of the preſent form of Government, or aggravated imaginary wrongs, are ſupported and protected by him, his houſes turned places of Refuge to diſtreſſed Male-contents. One *John Gormack* of *Athol* (not without ſuſpicion that he wrought by the motion and order of the Earl, and underſtood his Cabal) eſſayed with a great number of Out-laws to hinder the execution of a Malefactor, and take him by main force from the Sheriff of *Perth*, *William Ruthen*: but he periſhed in the enterprize. *Patrick Gilbreath* in the Caſtle of *Dumbartoun*, for priority of command, killeth *Robert Simple*, and to ſave his perſon, or juſtifie his homicide, flyeth to the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, by whom he is protected, notwithſtanding the many informations given in againſt him at Court, and his citation to anſwer to Juſtice.

The King whoſe non-age was now near expired, began to reliſh the ſweetneſs of Government in his own perſon, and became tyr'd of the long and awful tutelage of his jarring Rulers; and the flower of his Youth ſeeming fram'd for great affairs, promiſed the fruit of a wiſe and happy Reign; finding it difficult to put men near daily unto him; long experienced and greedy of Rule, from high places, except by the entertaining a ſtronger and more powerful faction: He ſetteth his thoughts upon the Earl of *Dowglaſs*; ſmall favours to him would be a great umbrage to the ambition of his Tutors, bring them within the compaſs of anſwering to what might be objected to them concerning their ſervice in the State; he would not ſue to the Earl, but as occaſion ſerved he gave many ſigns and open ſpeeches, that he had not altogether

gether withdrawn his love and favour from the ancient Houſe of the *Dowglaſſes*, their paſſed faults being by them acknowledged and recompenced with fidelity and obedience in times coming. The Earl of *Dowglaſs*, whoſe towardneſs and liberality had acquired him many friends at Court, upon aſſured advertiſement of his Princes good-will towards him, cometh to *Sterling*, and is no ſooner preſented upon his knees before the King in the Church, when with all demonſtrations of benevolence he is received in grace, pardoned, and not many days after admitted to be of the Privy Council. The King imparting to him his greateſt affairs, ſheweth he will follow them by his advice and counſel, honoureth him with the plauſible name of Couſin, and entertaineth ſuch familiarity with him that all others give him the place.

The promotion and credit which the Earl of *Dowglaſs* in a ſhort time acquired about the King, his faction daily encreaſing, moved the two Rulers (by their moderation ſeeking to avoid diſgrace) to leave the Court. After which they were both removed from their offices, and their places and authority in Council with their whole friends and followers. They are upbraided with diſorders, both in their private actions and the manner of their Government, and at laſt are ſummoned to anſwer before the King to ſuch things as they ſhould be legally accuſed of; the murmurs every where whiſpered amongſt the people, warned and certified them, if they ſhould appear and preſent themſelves, of ſome ſad and Tragick Act. Whereupon with proteſtations of their Innocency declining the time, appealing to the King in his majority, and when he ſhould be of full years, from theſe Judges their mortal enemies than abuſing abſolute Power, they ſuſpend their appearing, declaring with all their readineſs in every thing to obey the King.

This availeth them nothing, for at a Parliament holden in *Sterlin*, Articles being forged and urged againſt them, eſpecially of Peculate, as ſale of Crown-Lands, waſte of the Kings Treaſure, the laying of their hands upon the Kings Jewels, tranſporting Lands to themſelves and their friends, diſtributing Offices and places of the Crown and State (which ſhould have been by the Authority of the Council) as Hunters divide a Prey between themſelves. Diſpenſing with Riots, and taking the force and vigour from the Laws of the Kingdom; thus as betraying the adminiſtration of the Realm into the hands of worthleſs and corrupted men, they are denounced Rebels, their perſons and Eſtates proſcrib'd. Charge is given to Sir *John Foſter* of *Corſtorphane* and others the *Dowglaſſes* adherents, to bring all their moveables to the uſe of the Exchequer, demoliſh their Houſes, invade their Friends with fire and ſword, and all that ſided them. Thus the uncertain viciſſitude of Humane accidents overturns often them who ſeem to be raiſed to the higheſt degree of honour. The Caſtle of *Barentoren* is beſieged, taken, thrown down, with other houſes upon the Governours and Chancellours Lands, their Farms and ſmall Villages are plundered and ranſacked. In revenge of which the Rulers waſte the Earl of *Dowglaſſes* Territories, the Villages of *Straw-brock*, *Abercorn*, *Blackneſs* are burnt, with *Corſtorphane*. The ravage begun, continueth with daily loſs to both parties, and the overthrow of the Common-wealth.

The Earl wondreth (now having the Kings Authority) to find his enemies ſo ſtrong, and hold ſo long out againſt him, he ſuſpecteth they have ſecret ſupport by ſome not well affected towards him. The moſt powerful and eminent of which he gueſſeth to be *James Kennedy* Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, and Couſin

Couſin german to the King. He knew him jealous for his ſudden favours at Court, and that he had whiſpered amongſt his friends, that he feared the ambition of the Earls unlimited heart was now exalted to ſuch exorbitancy of height, that becoming top-heavy it would fall by its own weight, and turn up the Root.

The *Earl* will have this Prelate leſs powerful to aſſiſt the Rulers, or do harm unto him, To this effect he inſtigateth the Earl of *Crawford* his Allie, and *Alexander Ogleby* of *Innerwharely*, to invade the Biſhops Lands, and rifle his Vaſſals in *Fife*, without order or declaration of wrongs done by him. The Biſhop after the burning and ſpoyling of ſundry of his Farms, being weak by power to reſiſt their violence and repair his loſſes, took him to his Spiritual Arms, and excommunicated the Earl of *Crawford*. Though he made ſmall account of this verbal Thunder, yet did not this injuſtice long eſcape the revenging hand of God, who raiſeth up ordinarily one oppreſſor to execute his juſtice againſt another.

Alexander Lyndeſay, Son to the Earl of *Crawford*, pretended a title to the Baylerie of *Arbroth*, out of which he was kept by *Alexander Ogleby*, whoſe title was equal to his, if not better. This enmity kindled to ſuch a flame, that upon either ſide they aſſemble their friends in Arms: The *Ogleby* calleth the Lord *Huntley*, the *Lindeſay* the *Hamiltons* to aſſiſt their Rights: frequent meetings having been to calm matters, and reconcile them, and nothing agreed upon nor concluded, they reſolve at laſt to decide the cauſe by their Swords. The Earl of *Crawford* then remaining at *Dundee*, advertiſed of the preſent danger of his friends, poſted in all haſte to *Arbroth*, and cometh at the very chock of the skirmiſh, and when hey were to enter the Fight. Here intending by his

wiſdom to take up the quarrel, and preſuming upon the reſpect due to his place and perſon, he raſhly ruſheth forwards before his Companies to demand a party of *Alexander Ogleby* with his Son: But ere he could be known or was heard, he is encountred by a common Souldier, who thruſt him in the mouth with a Spear, and proſtrate him dead upon the ground. This ſudden accident joyned the Parties, who fought with great courage and reſolution: The Victory after much blood inclined to the Maſter of *Crawford*. *Alexander Ogleby* ſore wounded, was taken and brought to the Caſtle of *Finelvin* where he died; the Lord *Huntley* eſcaped by the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe. *John Forbeſs* of *Pitſligow*, *Alexander Barkley* of *Garteley*, *Robert Maxwell* of *Tillen*, *William Gordoun* of *Borrowfield*, Sir *John Oliphant* of *Aberdaguy* with others fell on the *Oglebies* ſide; they fought
1445 the Twenty fourth of *January* One thouſand four hundred fourty five.

Now by attending opportunities to encreaſe publick diſorders, turn the times dangerous and troubleſome, and confound the State; the Earl of *Dowglaſs* kept himſelf in the abſolute Government; by umbragious ways he nouriſhed diſcontentments in all parts of the Country, amongſt the Nobility, Gentry, Commons of the Realm. *Alexander* Earl of *Crawford* put to death *John Lynton of Dundee*, *Robert Boyd* of *Duchal*, and *Alexander Lyle* ſlew *James Stuart* of *Auchenmintee*; *Patrick Hepburn* of *Hails*, ſurpriſed the Caſtle of *Dumbar*; *Archembald Dumbar*, as if he would but change places with him, taketh the Caſtle of *Hails*, where he was beſieged by the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, and with conditions of ſafety rendred it. Sir *William Creighton* all this time kept the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, and when by intreaties nor power he could not be induced to render it to the King,

King, his Caſtle of *Creighton* is plundered, a gariſon placed in it, and the Caſtle of *Edenburgh* by the Earl of *Dowglaſs* is beſieged and blocked up. Nine months the Aſſailers lie about it: but it proveth impregnable, and without loſs of many Subjects cannot be taken, about the end of which time, mens courages waxing colder, conditions are offered and received; which were, that the Chancellor ſhould be reſtored to grace, place, and whatſoever had been withheld from him by his enemies at Court, an abolition and abrogation of all former diſcontentments ſhould be granted, the beſieged ſhould paſs out bag and baggage free. At a Parliament holden at *Perth*, the Chancellor was purged by an Aſſiſe of his Peers of what was laid againſt him, his lands and goods ſeized upon by the King or *Dowglaſſes* are decreed to be reſtored, as well to his followers as himſelf; he is eſtabliſhed in his dignities and places of Honour, notwithſtanding of all Edicts, Proclamations, Confiſcations before, which were declared null; all matters paſt put in oblivion, as not done. This, conſidering the credit of the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, was thought very ſtrange; but *James Kennedy* Biſhop of Saint *Andrews*, whoſe reſpect and Authority was great with the Churchmen, perfected this Maſter-piece of State; and the Earl of *Dowglaſs* knew, though the Chancellor was unbound, he had not yet eſcaped.

During theſe Garboyls in *Scotland*, *Margaret* Siſter to King *James*, and wife to the *Daulphin* of *France Lewis*, died at *Chalones* in *Champagne*: a vertuous and worthy Lady, beloved of all *France*, but moſt of *Charles* the ſeventh her Father in Law, who for her reſpect matched her three Siſters, who remained at his Court honourably; *Helenora*, with *Sigiſmond* Arch-duke of *Auſtria*; *Elizabeth*, to the Duke of *Bretaigne*; *Mary* with the Earl of *Camphire*:

phire. She was buried in the great Church of *Chalones*, but after when the *Daulphine* came to the King, he cauſed tranſport and bury her in the Abbey Church of *Loan* in *Poittow*: Many Elegies, were publiſhed upon her death which are yet extant. Sir *James Stuart*, the Black *Knight*, husband to the Queen, at this time died alſo: He had turned a voluntary exile, to ſhun the dangers and envy of the Factions of the Country, which he incurr'd by his free ſpeeches againſt the miſgovernment and miſeries of the time, and as he was bound towards *Flanders*, by the *Flemings* was taken upon the Seas. The Queen out-lived not long her Daughter and Huſband; ſhe was buried the fifteenth of *July* in the *Charter-houſe* of *Perth*, neer her firſt husband *James*, the year One thouſand four hundred forty ſix. She brought forth to the black Knight of *Lorn* three ſons, *John* Earl of *Athole*, *James* Earl of *Buchan*, *Andrew* Biſhop of *Murray*.

The Chancellor having recovered his honours and State to the diſadvantage of the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, though of good years and tyred with the troubles of a publick Life, yet findeth not any deſired reſt. A Marriage being deſigned for the King with *Mary* daughter of the Duke of *Guilders*, by the inſtructions of *Charles* the ſeventh the *French* King; but ſecretly by the procurement of the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, the Chancellor, as a Man grave, great in place, and experimented with the Biſhop of *Dunkel* and *Nicholas Otterburn*, is ſent over the Seas in Embaſſie. This troubleſome and unprofitable honour abroad is laid upon him, that he might be ſeparate from the King, and ſuſpended from oppoſing to the private deſigns of the Earl at home. This obſtacle of his ambition removed (which had neither moderation nor limits) the Earl may exclude ſuch Officers in

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State or Court who were not agreeable to him, and ſubſtitute others of his Creation after his pleaſure, he hath now room and opportunity for his greateſt deſigns. His Kindred are without pauſing preferred to Offices of State, his Brothers to new honours; *Archembald* is made Earl of *Murray*, by the marriage of a Lady of the houſe of *Dumbar*, who was Heir of the Lands, and the Kings Ward: *George* is created Earl of *Ormond*; *John* made Lord of *Balvenie*, and hath his Donation ratified in an Aſſembly of three Eſtates, who were conventcd at *Edenburgh* for matters concerning the Marriage of the King, but in effect that the Earl might purſue his old Enemies. The Commiſſioners are choſen after his pleaſure, are prepared and inſtructed by him, prelimitated; and, to combine power with craft, he entreth in an offenſive and defenſive League with many Noblemen, Barons, and Gentlemen of the Kingdom. All the wheels and vices of his Clock being right ſet, *Alexander Levingſton*, late Governour, *Alexander* his eldeſt Son, *Robert Levingſton* Treaſurer, *David Levingſton*, *James Dundas*, *Robert Bruce* of *Clackmannan* Knights, for Peculate and converting the Princes Treaſure to their private uſe, are forfeited, taken and committed to ſundry Priſons in *December* Four thouſand four hundred forty ſeven at which time they were brought to *Edenburgh*; *Alexander* the Governour, *James Dundas* and *Robert Bruce*, after Fines laid upon them were remitted back to *Dumbarton*, there to be kept Priſoners, during the Kings pleaſure. *Alexander* the Governours Son, a young man of great expectation, with *Robert Levingſton* Treaſurer, and *David Levingſton*, not ſo much by any crime proved againſt them, as by the Divine Juſtice in puniſhing the ſeverity of the Governour for the execution of the Earl of *Dowglaſs*

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in the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, had their heads cut off; the people much deploring their misfortune. By this blow the Earl of *Dowglaſs* though he was more terribly avenged, than if he had proved his power againſt the old Man; having thus as it were killed him twice. Though by this ſtrict Juſtice he pretended the Publick weal, his end was to govern all by his abſolute Authority, and make the world ſee, what credit he had to help or harm when he pleaſed, admire his pompous attendance, his haughty carrying of all buſineſs, and his power in State.

The Chancellor having perfected his Embaſſie, *Mary* daughter to *Arnold* Duke of *Guilders*, born of the Duke of *Burgundies* Siſter, a Lady young, beautiful, and of a maſculine conſtitution, arriveth in *Scotland*; and with great ſolemnity, accompanied with many ſtrangers and the Nobility of the Kingdom, is married to the King in the Abbey Church of *Holy-rood-houſe*; As theſe Nuptial Rites were finiſhed, the Peace between *Scotland* and *England* expired, and the Borders of both Kingdoms break, and mutually invade others. Amidſt much robbery, ſpoil and havock upon either ſide, the Earl of *Salisbury*, Lievtenant and Warden, upon the Weſt depopulateth the bordering Villages, and burneth the Town of *Dumfreis*; the Earl of *Northumberland* ſpoiling the Eaſt, burneth the Town of *Dumbar*: *John Dowglaſs*, Lord of *Balveany*, invadeth the *Engliſh* bounds, and burneth the Town of *Anwich*; the ravaging and depredations in a ſhort time turning equal, the two Kingdoms agree upon a ſuſpenſion of Arms, and place, and day to treat about a general Peace; at the laſt by an Aſſembly of the States One thouſand four hundred forty nine. A Truce is condeſcended unto for ſeven years. At this time *Alexander Seatoun* Lord *Gordon*, is created Earl of *Huntley*, and *George Leſlie* Baron, Earl of *Rothes*. This

This Truce was not long kept by any of the Nations, but, as it had been drawn and plaiſtered up for the faſhion, they conſpire equally to break it. New incurſions are made, ſlight skirmiſhes began to wound either ſide and baniſh Peace, juſt arms were conſtrained at laſt to be oppoſed to injurious oppreſſions. The *Scots* having made deſolate ſome parts of *Cumberland*, an Army under the leading of the Earl of *Northumberland* is raiſed, commanded by *Magnus* Red-beard, whom the *Scots* by reaſon of the length of his beard named *Magnus* with a red Main. A man trained from his youth in the Wars of *France*; who is ſaid to have required no more for his Service to the Crown of *England*, than what he might by his own valour conquer of *Scotland*. The *Engliſh* march from the Weſt Borders, paſs the River of *Soloway* and *Annand*, and encamp near the River of *Sark*. The Earl of *Dowglaſs* declareth his Brother *George* Earl of *Ormond* Lieutenant for the King againſt them: who with the power of the South and Weſt loſeth no time to encounter: the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Piercy* his Son, *Magnus Red-beard*, Sir *John Pennington*, Sir *Robert Harrington* led the *Engliſh* Battalions: The Earl of *Ormond*, Lord *Maxwell*, Lairds of *Johnſton*, and *Craiggy Wallace*, the *Scottiſh*. Here occaſion and place ſerving, it is valiantly fought, the fortune of the day long doubtful: till *Magnus*, whoſe experience and direction in War in thoſe days was deemed unparalleld, his courage here turning into temerity, was beaten from his horſe and ſlain. After his fall many turning their backs, the Earl of *Northumberland* himſelf with great danger eſcaped; more in the chaſe were loſt than in the Battel; ſuch who eſſayed to paſs the River, by the confuſion and the weight of their Arms were plunged in the water; others who could not find the Fords, being taken,

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and brought to the Caſtle of *Lochmaben*; amongſt which were Sir *John Pennington*, Sir *Robert Harrington*, the Lord *Piercy*, who by ſaving his Father engaged himſelf. Few renowned amongſt the *Scots* were here loſt, except *Craiggy Wallace*, a principal actor, who governing himſelf by honour and courage, died of his wounds there received not many days thereafter. The *Engliſh* to repair their loſs raiſed an Army, but by the daily ſupplies raiſed for *France*, and their projected Civil Wars (the Duke of *York*, Earls of *March*, *Warwick* and *Salisbury* beginning to toſs the State) it was kept at home for their own uſe, and a truce was agreed upon and concluded with *Scotland* for the ſpace of three years, One thouſand four hundred and fifty.

This Victory obtained chiefly by the valour of the *Dowglaſſes*, advanced highly their credit with the young King, and the Court founded with nothing more than their praiſes. But great fortunes are as hard to bear as to acquire, and ordinarily proſperity carryeth us into inſolencies, without pondring the conſequence of our actions. *William Colvill* Knight, upon a private quarrel having ſlain *James Auchinleck* a follower of the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, the Earl avenged his death, not only with the ſlaughter of *William*, but with the throwing down of his Houſe, and ſpoil of all his Lands: which turned cold the affections of many about the Court towards him, and made him terrible to all of a contrary Faction to his. After, whether tyred with his working thoughts, or to ſhun more hatred and envy, or to try what time would produce, amidſt the inward grudges and rancours of Court, or that he held his own Country too narrow Liſts for his glory, he leaveth the Kingdom: ſubſtituting one of his Brothers Procurator for his affairs, and in his abſence to govern his eſtate, accompanied

companied with his Brother Mr. *James* (a Man learned, and brought up in Sorbon Divinity, Expectant of the Biſhoprick of *Dunkel*, *James Hamilton* of *Cadyow*, the Lords *Grahame*, *Seatoun*, *Oliphant*, *Saltoun*, and many Gentlemen, he arriveth in *Flanders*, cometh to *France*, paſſeth the *Alps*, and it being the year of *Jubilee* ſtayeth at *Rome*: where he was honourably received and welcomed. *Envy never leaveth great Actors*; he had not been long abſent from his Prince, when many are ſuborned to give up complaints againſt the oppreſſions, riots, wrongs of his Kindred, Servants and Vaſſals. The faults of his Governing the King are pryed into, every overſight and eſcape aggravated to the height. The *King* at firſt was loth to lend an ear to miſreports and calumnies of a man lately ſo well deſerving and dearly of him beloved: but overcome by importunity and urged by the numbers of Complainers, he gave way that his Brother and Procurators ſhould make anſwer for wrongs ſuffered by the complainers: after many citations his Brother not appearing is at laſt by force preſented to the Council: when he could not anſwer to ſuch faults as were laid againſt the Earls Vaſſals and followers, nor acquit them of violent oppreſſions, he was only enjoyned to reſtore to the Complainers their loſs, and reſtore all damages. Upon fair promiſes of Reſtitution the King bringeth him off the danger, and obtaineth him liberty to return home.

There, after long adviſement with his other Brothers and ſome haughty Vaſſals, they declare, old Rapines and wrongs being joyned to new, and reſent with which they were charged, the reſtitution was impoſſible, and like ſpilt water which could not be recovered. Not ſatisfied with this anſwer, the Council cited the Earl of *Dowglaſs* upon ſome days to appear

pear before them, and all his Vaſſals and followers with his Brothers to anſwer according to Law, to ſuch Articles as ſhould be given in againſt them. The Earl was far off, and they conſidered it conſiſted not with their weal to hazard their perſons to the arbitriment of Judges, many of which had been obnoxious to their affronts. Thus for not appearing they are denounced Rebels, and Warrants granted to invade and ſpoyl their Lands, as publick enemies to Authority and the preſent Government. This Decree is followed by open force; and to facilitate the execution of it, and to take up the Earl of *Dowglaſſes* Rents, *William* Earl of *Orkney* cometh to *Galloway*, *Dowglaſs-dale*, *Liddeſ-dale*: But he found, Authority not ſeconded with power againſt luſty Rebels, to produce weak effects: for he returned, diſobeyed, contemned, and near ſpoiled and rifled by the Earls Tenants and Vaſſals.

The King to vindicate his Authority, ſince he could not prevail by reaſon, with competent Forces in perſon entreth the ſame Territories, taketh all the ſtrong Fortreſſes and Caſtles where he came, demoliſheth the Caſtle of *Dowglaſs*, placeth a Garriſon in *Lochmabane*, giveth the cuſtody of ſuch places he ſpared with the whole Goods and Moveables appertaining to them, to the Complainers and men intereſted in wrongs or blood by the Rebels. The noiſe of this unexpected backblow being heard at *Rome*, perplexed not a little the Earl of *Dowglaſs*: Many of his train leave him, that where lately he repreſented a Prince, he ſeemed now ſcarce a private Gentleman; he was aſſured he lived under a Soveraign who maugre all detractions, would hear his own defences. Upon which hopes he reſolveth to return, taketh him to his Journey, and for his greater haſte and ſafe progreſs, he obtaineth a Paſs through *England*, come to the

the Borders of *Scotland*, his Brother *James* is directed to the Court, to underſtand the Kings mind towards him, and if there were any poſſibility in this ebb of favours to have acceſs to him.

The King ingeniouſly promiſeth to accept him, and performed it, for all that hapned by the miſdemeanor of his Friends in his abſence, requeſting that he would but live peaceably according to the order of the State, without hating that which his Prince loved, or improving that which he approved and authorized; and that as himſelf and his Brothers were ever the moſt able and readieſt to repeal the wrongs of Strangers, ſo they would endeavour to entertain unity and concord in the Country it ſelf, and purge their Lands of Thieves and Robbers; if miſchievous and wicked men were not puniſhed, there would be no ſurety nor ſafety for the good and vertuous. Paſt wrongs are pardoned, the Garriſons removed from his Caſtles, and they are rendred unto him. Then to put him in aſſurance of encreaſing favours, he is made Lieutenant General of the Kingdom, a place great and requiring great action, being only to be beſtowed upon a Man active, great in power and friends.

The Earl of *Dowglaſs* again afloat in the ſtream of his Soveraigns favours, might have continued, if his miſeries had not been decreed from above: ſoon after he falls in a new diſgrace; whether upon a promiſe of return, or that he was ſent for, or that he would officiouſly give thanks for receiving courteſies when he was in his way homewards, he paſſeth privately to the Court of *England*, and without his Maſters knowledge or leave hath many days ſerious conference with the Nobility of that Kingdom, then many ways diſtreſſed by the Rebellion of *Kent*, and the Factions of the great Men. The pretended cauſe

cauſe of his journey was given out to be the repairing of his own and his Vaſſals loſſes, ſuſtained by the inrodes of the *Engliſh* the time of his travels abroad, and the redreſſing of other diſorders on the *Weſt* borders; but his Enemies ſuggeſted he intended to enter a League with ſome of the *Engliſh* to the diſadvantage of his Maſter, and trouble of his Country, by changing the Form of Government, or the Officers of State. King *James* took his meeting with the *Engliſh* in an evil part; but after great interceſſion and many requeſts of the Queen and Noblemen after he had ſubmitted himſelf to his clemency, and acknowledged his Errors, received him. In this mean time he is diſcharged of all publick employments; his Offices of State are divided between the Earl of *Orkney* and the Lord *Creightoun* his reconciled Enemies.

Removed from publick employments he giveth himſelf to ſtudy private revenge, and the whole ſecret Council turn diſtaſteful unto him: eſpecially *Orkney* and *Creightoun*, men perfectly abhorring his ambition, and who greatly feared his diſmeaſured greatneſs.

Their ſuſpected affronts and alledged wrongs towards him were increaſed daily by tales of Sycophants. It was told the Earl, that the Lord *Creightoun* in conference with the King, had ſaid, it were expedient for the peace of the Country, That the Earl of *Dowglaſs* with all his friends and followers were rooted out, and their memory aboliſhed; but if that were left undone, neither ſhould the King rule in due Majeſty, nor the Subjects ever give him that obedience which they ought. That wiſe Princes ſuffered houſes to grow as men do Spider-webs, not taking heed of them ſo long as they were ſmall, but when offenſively encreaſed, they ſwept them wholly away. Irritated by theſe and many ſuch like ſpeeches, after much

much contempt of the Chancellour, on dawning, as he was early coming from *Edenburgh* to his Caſtle of *Creighton*, the Earl who wanted not his own intelligence amongſt his followers (Hatred being an evil Counſellour) laid an ambuſh for him on the high way. But the clearneſs of the morning diſcovering it, by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe he eſcapeth; ſome of his company being wounded, and one of the Aſſailers ſlain in the purſuit. Two days after, the Chancellor to repair his credit, accompanied with a number of his friends and followers, coming in great haſte to *Edenburgh*, had unawares ſurprized the Earl of *Dowglas*, then attended but with a ſmall number of his friends, if he had not ſpeedily ſhifted himſelf from the danger. This contention now burſting forth into open Hoſtility, divided into Factions the whole Kingdom; The Earl of *Dowglaſs* maintaining his by the long continued grandeur of his Houſe, the Chancellor ſtanding by his Princes favour, and a long practice of the affairs and courſe of the World; The Earl fearing the Authority of the King might ſway the Ballance and make the party unequal, if he ſhould be brought to call to remembrance paſſed actions and attempts of his Predeceſſors, findeth nothing more expedient to curb his enemies, and ſtrengthen his proceedings, than to renew his old Confederation, and combine with him many others. Hereupon the Earls of *Crawford*, *Roſs*, *Murray*, *Ormond*, the Lord *Balvenny*, Knight of *Cadyow*, many Barons, Gentlemen with their Allies, Vaſſals, Servants to a great number, ſubſcribed and ſwore ſolemnly never to deſert one another during life; That injuries done to any one of them, ſhould be done to them all, and be a common quarrel; neither ſhould they deſiſt to their beſt abilities to revenge them: That they ſhould concur indifferently againſt whatſoever Per-

ſons within or without the Realm, and ſpend their Lives, Lands, Goods, Fortunes in defence of their Debates and Differences whatſoever. This confederation and Covenant again renewed, turned the Earl imperious in his deportments, preſumptuous beyond all limits, and his followers and adherents inſupportable to their neighbours: The Lands of ſuch who were not of their party, or refuſed to think all their thoughts and ſecond them in their enterprizes, were plundered; and goodneſs was a cauſe to make men ſuffer moſt pillage and ranſacking of their Goods, and other miſerable calamities. At this time the Thieves and Robbers of *Liddeſdale* and *Annandale* break into the Lands of *John* Lord *Herreſs*, a Noble Man, who had continued conſtantly faithful to the King, and drive with them a great booty of Cattle: Complaints being given to the Earl of *Dowglaſs* of the Depredations of his men, and finding no redreſs, the Lord *Herreſs* eſſayeth to drive the like prey in recompence of the damage; but being unequal in power, his fortune was to be taken by the Thieves, and brought as a Priſoner to the Earl, who layed him faſt in Irons; and notwithſtanding of the Kings Letters (full of Intreaties and Threatnings) without any formality of Law, cauſed, Hang him as a Felon: The like miſchief was practiſed in other places. After this contempt of Soveraignty, it was univerſally blazed, that the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, in reſpect of his new Covenant, the power of his Kinſmen and Allies, the entertaining of ſuch who were diſcontent and diſcountenanced at Court, the love and favour of the men of Arms in *Scotland* (ever governed by ſome of his Name) his riches, the honour of his Anceſtors, had reſolved to diſſemble no longer, but openly to play his game, eſſay one day if he could ſet the Crown upon his own head, being then able

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to raiſe an Army of Forty thouſand warlike perſons, men ready to go with him, whither, or againſt whom they cared not, attending only the occaſion and his Commandment.

The King who before but diſdained the pride, after this League became jealous of the Earl of *Dowglaſs* (a League giving a Law to a King breaking all bonds of Soveraignty, and inviting a people to look for a new Maſter) and though his modeſty and patience ſerved only to turn the Earl more inſolent, and his boldneſs more active, yet in a foul game he bare a fair countenance; knowing the laſt thing which a Soveraign Prince ſhould do, is to ſhew himſelf Male-content and offended with any of his Subjects; for inſtead of chaſtiſing him, he would give him fairer means and greater power to do him harm: He would not ſhew a token of any prejudicial thought to the Earls proceedings, till he had firſt heard himſelf.

Thus very calmly he deſired him to come and ſpeak with him at *Sterlin*, whiles he (conſcious of his own miſdemeanor) except upon a publick aſſurance under the great Seal for his ſafe coming and return, refuſed to do: A ſafe conduct obtained, about the Shrew-tide, in the year One thouſand four hundred fifty two he came to the Court then remaining at *Sterlin* Caſtle, accompanied with many of his Confederates, and a powerful Retinue: The King with a gracious countenance, and all apparent reſpect received him, endeavouring rather by kindneſs and humanity, than by rigor to reclaim him to his former obedience. The day near ſpent, the Gates of the Caſtle ſhut, all removed, except ſome of the Council and the Guards; the King taking the Earl friendly apart, remembred him of favors received, wrongs forgotten, the duties, as a Subject, he owed to his 1452

Prince, his capitulation before he would come and ſpeak with him; he taxed him with the exorbitant abuſes and outrages of his followers: then he told him what Informations he had of a Covenant of mutual defence and adherence betwixt him and ſome of his Nobles and Gentlemen, which he would ſcarce believe: He prayed him to conſider the murmuring, or rather begun ſedition of his people, his long patience in tolerating his proceedings, his misbelief of evil reports towards him, until he had heard what he had to ſay for himſelf and his innocency.

The Earl anſwered the Kings towardneſs in equal terms, truſting much to his confederation; for his favours he ſhould ſtrive with all obſequiouſneſs to deſerve them; That as he had the honour to command others who obeyed him, he knew very well how to be commanded, and obey his Prince, and in what diſobedience conſiſted; that as none of his Subjects enjoyed more Lands and Honours than himſelf, there ſhould not one be found who more willingly would engage all his fortunes and perſon for the Honour of his Prince: That they who layed ſnares for his life, being ſo near his Majeſty, for the ſurety of his perſon he could not come to Court, except upon a publick aſſurance, and well accompanied: For the wrongs committed by his Followers and Vaſſals, he would give what ſatisfaction ſhould be required; Concerning the Band of mutual friendſhip betwixt him and ſome Noblemen, they would have adhered together without any writing; they were driven thereunto for their own ſafety, not out of mind to offer, but repel injuries: That he was infinitely oblig'd to his goodneſs, in not condemning him before he was heard, and for that he had not lent a credulous ear to his enemies miſchievous devices.

The King replyed, effects and not words make the

the affection and ſubmiſſion of a ſubject known; and could there be any greater ſurety for him, than to rely on the Laws of the Commonwealth and Country? eſpecially (continued he) in a Country where Laws, and not Faction rule, and where a mans own goodneſs is able to preſerve him: But ſuch men as you are, raiſe theſe Factions, to the ſubverſion of all Laws and Authority; and for Subjects to make an offenſive and defenſive League againſt all perſons, is to diſclaim all Government, and do what they pleaſe without controulment; commit Treaſon in the higheſt degree, and make your own Swords and Power juſtifie your proceedings, which, though ye firſt uſe againſt mean perſons, and conceal the progreſs of your actions (for there are degrees in evil, and wicked men begin at that which ſeemeth the leaſt of evils, or not an evil at all at the firſt) your laſt aim is likely to be the robbing upon the Crown: Conſider (my Lord) ye are born under a Monarchy, which admitteth no Soveraignty but it ſelf, and it is natural to Princes to hold it in higheſt eſteem, and in no caſe to ſuffer it to be ſhaken by their Subjects: Take your Prince for your beſt protection, and an innocent life; renounce that Union and League with your Peers, which excepted, or commanded, or approved, or remitted by your Prince, ſubſiſteth not in Law nor in Reaſon, being forbidden under great pains; and let it not be heard any longer, that ever ſuch an unjuſt Confederation was, and ſo wonted clemency ſhall be preferred before deſerved Juſtice; The Earl replyed, The League being drawn up by the common conſent of many Lords, Barons and Gentlemen, and ſubſcribed, it could not be cancell'd nor renounc'd but by their common conſent; nor was it profitable for the King, nor to him other ways to have it done: That being together, they might

condeſcend to the renouncing and cancelling of it. But (ſays the King) you to ſhew good example to the reſt, ſhall firſt begin; Neither (living) ſhall any Traytor in my preſence diſavow and diſclaim my Authority, in what is within my poſſibility of accompliſhing. The Earl requeſts him to remember, he came to Court upon a publick aſſurance: A publick aſſurance cannot ſo warrant any man, but that he may fall by his own private miſdemeanor, anſwered the King; withal, conſidering a mean courage in a King to be an imputation, and that he did neither wrong towards God nor his Fame, in revenging himſelf upon the enemies of the State; The place, a ſtrong Caſtle; his preſent power, all within being his Councellors and Servants; the danger if he ſhould eſcape; the eaſineſs of ſuppreſſing the Rebellion, the head taken away: (The Earl continuing hot and ſtubborn, in debating his points of the League, wrath baniſhing other Doubts and Intereſts) his Dagger performed, what armed Juſtice ſcarce dared attempt: The Kings blow (the noiſe ariſing) was ſeconded by a number of his Servants, who ruſhing in the Room left him dead, upon Shrewd-Eve, the Twenty ſecond of *February*, One thouſand four hundred fifty two.

About the laſt Scene of this Tragedy, a pair of Spurs between two Platters (an Emblem of ſpeedy flight) as a part of the Kings Banquet, is directed to Sir *James Hamilton* of *Cadyow*; This he communicated to the Lords and Gentlemen of the Union, in which time the News of the Earls death is ſpread abroad: The Leaguers finding themſelves weak to carry ſo ſtrong a place as the Caſtle, in hot blood ſet on fire divers quarters of the Town of *Sterlin*, make Proclamation againſt the King and his Council, for violating the aſſurance granted the Earl: Infamous

Libels

Libels are ſpread every where, and the ſafe Conduct of the King and his Council bound to a wooden Truncheon at a Horſes-tail is trailed along the ſtreets: In the Market-place, by the mouth of a Cryer, to the ſound of all their hunting-horns, they declare the King, and thoſe that abode with him, Faith-breakers, perjured perſons, enemies to all goodneſs and good men. *James* the next brother of the houſe of *Dowglaſs* (a Church-man) being proclaimed Earl, in rage and madneſs, committing all ſort of Hoſtility; they over-run the Lands and Poſſeſſions of thoſe whom they ſuſpected would ſide the King, and not prove of their party: *John* Lord of *Dalkeith* their Kinſman, and of the name of *Dowglaſs*, they beſiege in his Caſtle of *Dalkeith*, for that he hated their proceedings; the Tenants and Vaſſals of the Earl of *Anguſs* are plundered for the ſame cauſe: The ſtrength of the place raiſed the Siege of *Dalkieth*; and the Earl of *Anguſs*, by their many wrongs and inſolencies, remained more conſtant to the King.

In this time the King writeth to all the good Towns in the Realm, and Church-men, giving reaſons for the taking away of the Earl, imputing the fault to the Earl himſelf, exhorting the people to make no ſtir for the juſt execution of a Man born for the ruine of the Kingdom, and who voluntarily had precipitated himſelf in his own miſ-hap; offering all his power to keep the Country in quietneſs, according to that Authority in which God hath placed him: This blow, as particular Intereſts made the hearts of men incline, and as paſſions were various, was variouſly and in ſeveral manners taken. Some without inquiring of circumſtances, after what faſhion or occaſion ſoever done, allowing it, thought the King had more clear and evident inducements for his deed, then could fall within the Labyrinths of rea-

ſoning. The Majeſty of a Prince, hardly falleth from an height to a midſt, but eaſily is precipitated from any midſt, to the loweſt degree and ſtation; The King (ſaid they) hath obviated this fall, hath ſet afoot again and raiſed his Authority threatned with ruine; he hath vindicated his liberty almoſt thrall'd, hath aſſured the Lives, Honours, Eſtates of many Loyal Subjects, which were endangered by not adhering to the League of the Earl, and keeping their Oath of Allegiance to the King; he (if he pleaſe now with Honor and Reputation may hold his Parliaments, bring to paſs his deſigns for the conſervation of his Authority, and the peace of his Subjects. Others blamed this Deed every where, and in every circumſtance: laying perjury and murder againſt him, and the breaking of the publick Faith and Aſſurance, the common Band of humane Society, the common defence of all, and the ground of Juſtice.

To which it was anſwered, that the Earl was not taken away for his paſt demerits and miſdeſervings, but for what he had recently committed in the Kings own preſence, having ſpoken to him with an inſupportable irreverence; They which have ſafe conduct, being obliged to ſhun all kind of offence towards him who gives it them, any enormity being ſufficient to annul the benefit of it.

More, for the breach of Faith, the Earl and his confederates were the more perjured; and he the murtherer of himſelf: they having violated that Natural Oath to their King, which all Subjects owe to their Soveraigns, by drawing up a League among his People, to the breaking of the tyes of Soveraignty, giving by this, occaſion and juſt cauſe to the King to reward them after their demerits. Moſt ſaid the killing of the Earl was evil, but that it was a neceſſary evil. That as Nature ſuffereth not two Suns, ſo rea-

ſon

ſon of State ſuffereth not that in one Kingdom there be Two Kings, but that of neceſſity the one muſt overthrow the other; and matters going thus, he who giveth the firſt blow hath the advantage. Thus did Men judge diverſly, after their proper Intereſts, of the deeds of others.

The Torrent of theſe diſorders encreaſing, Laws are neglected, Towns Villages, Houſes, the Highways are every where afflicted with Rapine, Fire, and Fury, and ſave needy boldneſs, nothing is ſafe and ſecure in any place.

The changing Multitude (like Mad-men limning Pourtraicts with their own blood) delight in their Proceedings, and daily encreaſe the number of the Rebels. In this Inſurrection the King is reduced to many extremities, and is ſaid to have thought upon an eſcape by Sea to *France*, if he had not been diverted by *James Kennedy*, Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, who told him, That to leave the Kingdom was to give all over to the inſolency of his Rebels, and for fear of burning, to leap into the fire it ſelf. That beſides the high and long continued Title of a King, which the beſt part of his Subjects yet reverenced, he had ſufficient Friends and Warlike men, who appearing in a Field with him would raiſe a juſt fear in the hearts of thoſe who ſo hainouſly dared diſobey him. That God would be preſent to revenge wronged Majeſty, and turn their hopes in deſpair; That the Common People were ever changing, and a little time would make them flow to theſe from whom they did ebb; and all would return again, except ſuch as were guilty of other offences, or ſuch whoſe poverty made them fear a beggerly Peace as their greateſt puniſhment. That his chiefeſt and principal City ſtood good for him, which example the other Towns would undoubtedly follow; that Rebellion

was

was like Thunder, the noiſe of which (if obſerved duely) was often more terrible than the blow, and diſſolved ordinarily in tears of Repentance and fair Weather: that here the prudence of a Prince manifeſteth it ſelf, when he cannot ſuppreſs and ſtop all the evils in his State, to ſuffer and tolerate the leaſt, and with leaſure and time aboliſh and extirpate the greater, and make vertue of Rebellion.

The *King* by the Biſhops Counſel and Aſſiſtance, gathereth an Army, but will not try the hazard of a Battel, before thoſe he had advertiſed and ſent for, ſhould joyn with theſe already about him, and his Forces from all the Quarters of the Kingdom be united. In the North, the Earl of *Huntley* had raiſed a goodly Company to come to his aid; but the Earl of *Crawford*, a Confederate of the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, with a power of the men of *Anguſs*, and all who would follow him, guided by ſome *French* Commanders eſſayed to cut off his paſſage, and rencountreth him at *Brechen*; the Battel is fought, and the Victory inclined where the Kings Standard was diſplayed by the Earl of *Huntley*. The equity of the cauſe laid aſide, the occaſion of this Victory was aſcribed to *John Coloſs* of *Bonnymoon*, who having one of the Wings of the Army to guide, which conſiſted of Battel-axes, great Swords, and long Spears, and the beſt invaſive Weapons, in the hotteſt of the Skirmiſh gave ground, and left the middle Ward naked upon his ſide: the reaſon of his revolt is reported, that the night before the Battel, when every man was reſolving with his affairs of the World, *Bonnymoon* requeſted the Earl of *Crawford*, of whom he held his Lands-Ward, and relief, ſince the next day he was reſolved, either to be victorious, or die in the Field, to ſubſcribe a Precept (himſelf falling) for entring his Son to his Lands. This the Superiour refuſing, the

Vaſſal

Vaſſal out of a juſt indignation, when he ſhould have Charged, retired, and his Company with him. Such thoughts poſſeſſed not the Earl of *Huntlies* minde; he dealt not ſo ſparingly with his friends in hope of their good ſervice: To the *Forbeſſes*, *Oglebies*, *Leſlies*, *Grants*, *Irwines*, he freely gave many of his own Lands, which raiſed their courage to the height. In requital of which, the King after beſtowed upon him the Lands of *Badyeenoch* and *Lochaber*. In the conflict the Earl of *Huntley* loſt two Brothers; the Earl of *Crawford* and Sir *John Lindſay* his brother, being left on the Field, fled to his houſe of *Phanheaven*, where he was heard to ſay, He would be content to remain ſeven years in Hell, to have in ſo timely a ſeaſon done the King his Maſter that Service the Earl of *Huntley* had performed, and carry that applauſe and thanks he was to receive from him. This conflict happened upon the Aſcenſion-day, the Eighteenth day of *May*, One thouſand four hundred fifty two.

The King by the confluence and reſort of many worthy Subjects unto him, having time to breath, and finding himſelf in a calm, keepeth a Convention of the States at *Edenburgh*; Ere the Earls of *Dowglaſs*, *Crawford*, *Ormond*, *Murray*, the Lord *Balveney*, Sir *James Hamilton*, and others, are cited to anſwer according to Law: They inſtead of appearing, in the Night, upon the doors of the Principal Churches and other places eminent, fix many Placates and Libels ſigned with their hands; which bear, *The Earl of* Dowglaſs *nor his Followers will never obey Command nor Charge in time coming, nor anſwer citation, for that the King is not a juſt Maſter, but a Blood-ſucker, a Murtherer, a Tranſgreſſor of Hoſpitality, a Surpriſer of the Innocent and ſuch who deſerved no harm at his hands*: Not long after the King levied

levied an Army, which by the approaching Winter did little Service; and the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, to ſave the Lands of *Beatrice* his Brothers Widow, unſeparated from the Houſe, ſought by a Diſpenſation from the Pope to have her in Marriage, alledging her untouched of his Brother; which being refuſed him, he kept her in place of his wife, the effect of his *Sorbon* Divinity, and found hereby more Bryars than Roſes.

The *Earl* of *Crawford* placing two ſtricts of Seas betwixt him and the King, ſpoileth the Lands of all thoſe who forſook him at *Brechen*; and *Archembald* Earl of *Murray*, burneth the Pile of *Srath-Boggy*, pertaining to the Earl of *Huntley*; in revenge of which, the Earl of *Huntley* burnt and herried all the Lands of the Earl of *Murray* beyond the *Spey*: The King too, in this madneſs of Mankind, defaceth his own Country, pulling down the Houſes of his Rebel-Subjects, and waſting *Annan-dale*: This ravage and mutual overturning of all, having continued almoſt two whole years, the Faction of the Earl, far inferiour to the Kings, now weakned with ſuch laſting Incurſions, ſundry of the chief men and heads conſidering the leaſt faults were the beſt, that it was better to ſtrike ſail in time, than make a full ſhipwrack of their Perſons, Honors, and the well of the Kingdom and State, counſel the Earl, that Fervors growing colder, ſince it could not be undone which was done, he would not ſet greater work on foot, but proceeding with conveniency, ſubmit himſelf friendly to the King, who had as much goodneſs as generoſity, and ſought and required nothing of his Subjects but obedience; and having now proved how difficile it was to overcome them by Arms, was (perhaps) as much tyred as they, would pardon theſe faults which he could not otherwiſe amend. Neceſſity in Affairs of Princes,

Princes, conſtraining them to yield to many things in Government againſt their firſt Concluſions, and reſolve to grant that which they could not well hinder: That there were many hours in the day, and the hearts of Princes were ſubject to change in them; that he ſhould not forſake the Publick-weal of the Kingdom for his private Conſiderations: That after this trouble of State, he might be more eſteemed and ſought after by the King, as it is ordinarily practiſed among Princes and great men, who affect only that which is neceſſary unto them.

To theſe the Earl anſwered, That they had went too far forwards to think of any cowardly retreat and coming back again; that the only vertue under a Tyrant, was to die conſtantly; that other vertues did fight, but conſtancy alone triumphed: That for himſelf, he would never truſt his life to the mercy of thoſe who under colour of friendſhip and banqueting, had firſt made away his two Kinſmen, and after his own Brother; for if they being Innocents, were thus handled, what might he expect who had been the occaſion of ſuch diſtraction in the State? He that once had broken his faith, except by a ſurety, is unable again (in Law) to contract and enter in Bond with any; who will be ſurety between a King and his Subjects? That Treaties, Agreements, Covenants, Bargains of a Prince with rebellious Subjects, engage him no farther, no longer than the Term-time, or day, which pleaſeth him to accept, obſerve and keep them, as they turn or may turn to his utility and advantage; that as in Nature there is no regreſs found from privation to an habit, ſo neither in State men once diſgraced do return to their former Honours: That Princes mortally hated all Subjects who had either attempted to over-rule them by power, or had caſt any terrour upon them; and howſoe-

howſoever by conſtraint they bear ſail for a time, in the end they were ſure pay-maſters: That there was nothing more contrary to a good Agreement, then to appear to be too earneſt and buſie to ſeek to obtain it; he would ſue for none: That all his days he had loved ſincerity, conſtancy, and fidelity, and could not unſay and recant what he had promiſed and practiſed, nor do againſt his heart: His friends and his own ſtanding was by their Swords, which ſhould either advance their enterprizes and turn them Victor, or they would die Honourably like themſelves and Men, and not ignobly be murdered like Beaſts.

This free and dangerous reſolution of the Earl, moved many who heard, to provide for their own ſafety, and reſolve not to ſuffer long miſery for other mens folly, finding this war was not like to have any end, and that danger and death would be the only reward of their Rebellion. Amongſt others the Earl of *Crawford*, after great adverſity, when he could not move the Earl of *Dowglaſs* to ſubmit himſelf to the Kings clemency, with many tears and proteſtations of his ſincerity love and counſel to him, left him; and ſome weeks after, as the King was in Progreſs in *Anguſs*, in a ſad penitential manner, accompanied with his beſt friends, coming in his way with much humility and ſorrow, He acknowledged his fault, pleading rather for pity to his houſe, which had ſo long flouriſhed, than to his perſon. The King knowing his example would be no ſmall occaſion to weaken the power of the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, and that of all the Rebels he was the greateſt object of his Clemency, was content to receive him, but he would have it done by the mediation of *James Kennedy*, Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, and the Lord *Creightoun*, once his greateſt Enemies, which he refuſed not to embrace. Thus freely remitted with thoſe who accompanied

accompanied him, he returned to his own House of *Phanheaven*, where within few moneths he died of a burning Ague.

The three Estates, after assembled at *Edenburgh*, where *James* Earl of *Dowglass*, the Countess *Beatrix*, whom he kept by way of a pretended Marriage, *Archembald Dowglass*, Earl of *Murray*, *George* Earl of *Ormond*, *John Dowglass* Lord of *Balveny*, with others their adherents, friends and followers, are Attainted of High Treason, and their Lands and Goods are Confiscate and discerned to be seized on to the Kings use. The Earldom of *Murray* is given to *James Creighton*, who had married the eldest Daughter of the Earl of *Murray*; but he perceiving he could not possess it in peace, turned it back again to the King. At this time *George Creightoun* was created Earl of *Caithness*; *William Hay* Constable Earl of *Arrol*, *Darly*, *Halles*, *Boyd*, *Lyle* and *Lorn*, Lords of Parliament; the King maketh a rode into *Galloway*, reducing every strong hold and Castle of the Country to his Power; *Dowglass-dale* he abandoned to the spoil of the Souldier.

Matters at home turning desperate, the Earl of *Dowglass* being brought to that pass, that he knew not what to wish or fear, *James Hamilton* of *Cadjow* is sent to *England* to invite the ancient enemy of the kingdom to take a part of her spoil, and help to trouble the King. But the *English* had greater business amongst themselves than could permit them to Wed the Quarrels of the Earl. After Sir *James Hamilton* was returned with an excuse, and regret that some of the *English* Lords could not supply their confusion, but only by their counsel, he advised the Earl of *Dowglass* to trust to his own Power and Forces, which were sufficient, measuring their Courage, and not counting their Heads, to hold good against the

the King. There was no human affairs where men were not neceſſitated to run ſome danger, nor any buſineſs taken in hand with ſuch a certainty, which by unknown cauſes, and even light ones, might not run a hazard of ſome miſhap; That he ſhould ſtudy to embrace and accept of what was moſt honourable and leaſt dangerous: it was better once to try the worſt, then ever to be in fear of it: it was fit for him to commit ſomething to fortune, and wiſdom could counſel nothing but to ſhun the greateſt evil. This lingring war would not only tire, but over-come and vanquiſh them, when one fair day of battel, either by death or victory would crown their deſires. Others adviſed him, not to hazard upon a Battel, except upon ſeen and approved advantage, and to time it out a while; in this lingring War a Truce might be agreed upon, which ere long might turn in a Peace, in which every thing paſſed might be forgotten and pardoned; That Wars were managed more by occaſions and times than by arms; That the King could not be now but tyred, ſince he had learned, that by eſſaying by arms to overcome them he had gained nothing but trained up his Subjects, whom he called Rebels, in all Warlike Diſcipline, and had his Country ſpoiled and the Policy defaced. Should they once enter in blood, all hopes were gone of any conditions of peace.

At this time the King beſieged the Caſtle of *Abercorn*, to relieve the beſieged, hither marcheth with all his Forces the Earl of *Dowglaſs*; being come within view of the Kings Army, he obſerveth their march ſlow, the countenance of his Souldiers altered, much whiſpering, and their ſpirits in a manner dejected. Countrymen were to Fight againſt Countrymen, friends againſt friends, and all againſt their Prince. Interpreting this rather to proceed from their weari-

edneſs,

ednes, than want of good will to enter the Lists, as well to refresh and cherish them to be more prompt and lusty of courage the next morning, as to take counsel what course to follow, and how to dispose of their Game, he stayeth that afternoon and pitcheth his Tents. To men unfortunate every thing turneth an enemy. Whether Sir *James Hamilton* gave way to this, or not, uncertain; but after (it is said) that in a chafe he told the Earl, he had neglected the opportunity of Fight, and should never see so fair a day again, in which he might have hazarded one cast of a Dye for a whole Kingdom. But his Fortune was now declined, and (perhaps) would never stand upright; that by giving that night to his Souldiers to pause and deliberate on the matter, they would (perchance) take the safest way, be more advised what to enterprise the next morning, readily not Fight at all, consisting of a number of bold young Gentlemen, Volunteers, who for the most part out of bravery and compassion followed him; That the Kings Army by his lingring and lying off was encouraged, finding they were to cope with men who would advise ere they fought. After which speeches he bad the Earl farewel: And now, knowing that the way lay open both for Pardon and Favour to him that would first seek it, he in the night breaketh out with some friends, and having got over the fields betwixt the two Camps, was brought safely to the King, who graciously received, and freely pardoned him: The Army having understood the clandestin Revolt and escape of Sir *James Hamilton*, disbanded, every man slipping away by secret passages to his own habitation, that on the morrow there was nothing to be seen but the solitary field upon which they had encamped: The King out of joy of this bloodless Victory, caused Proclaim in all his chief Towns, *That since Sove-*

raign Authority had no leſs ſplendor by the actions of Clemency, then by theſe of Juſtice; all thoſe who had followed the Earl of Dowglaſs, *and been of his party, rather by miſ-fortune and unadviſed raſhneſs, than any evil will againſt him, ſhould be freely pardoned: Thoſe who would abandon the Earl and come to the Kings Camp, whoſoever they were, no Juſtice, no Law ſhould trouble them, but they ſhould be received to mercy, and have all Pardon:* After this Proclamation, many ſubmitted themſelves to the King and were pardoned; though Sir *James Hamilton* was remitted, yet that under colour of reconciliation worſe miſchief might not be plotted, the King ſent him, with the Earl of *Orkney*, to the Caſtle of *Roßline* during his pleaſure, and the taking in of the Caſtle of *Abercorn*: remembring alſo it was ſome prejudice to a Prince to be obliged to any Rebel.

The Earl of *Dowglaſs* gathering together the ſplit pieces of his Ship-wrack, with his Brothers, and ſo many of his Confederates as would not forſake him, flieth to *England*; here with much Travel, by many promiſes of Rewards, great hopes of ſpoil, gathering unto him a power of Out-laws, Felons, Bancker-outs, and ſuch as lived by Rapine, as well of his own Nation as of the *Engliſh*, he maketh a Rode upon the Weſt borders of *Scotland*; ſome Villages being burnt, many preys, much ſpoil being driven into *England*; at laſt, he meeteth with the valiant men who were appointed to defend the *Marches*, the *Maxwells* and *Scots*; here in a furious skirmiſh his Companies are diſcomfited: *Archibald* Earl of *Murray*'s Brother is ſlain, and his Head ſent to the King; the Earl of *Ormond* is taken Priſoner, himſelf with the Lord *Balvenny* with great difficulty eſcaped in a Foreſt; when he ſought to return again into *England*, he findeth all paſſages ſtopped up, the ways layed

for

for him, and beginning to feel much want, he is conſtrained in a diſguiſed habit to lurk meanly in the inmoſt parts of *Scotland*, till he wandred toward the far High-lands, where finding *Donald* Earl of *Roſs*, Lord of the *Iſles*, one of his League, a man cruel, arrogant, unpoliſht, after many diſcourſes and long conference with him (being no leſs eloquent than active) he poſſeſſeth him with great hopes (after a diviſion of the Kingdom between them two) of an abſolute power and Government of all the High-lands, beſides the wealth and treaſure which he would purchaſe by the ſpoil: He requireth only he would break upon the more civil Countries, bring all the Fire-brands he could to kindle and trouble them, and cut work for the King, whilſt he with new ſupplies, and a great Army to be raiſed in *England*, ſhould invade the *Marches* and bordering Countries: The Earl of *Roſs*, who thought nothing impoſſible to him, being to himſelf in theſe barbarous parts by phantaſie a King, and was uſed to vaunt of a long pedegree from *Fergus*, reliſheth the profit and poſſibility of this Enterpriſe, ſweareth to leave nothing undone for the accompliſhing of it, and parting with him upon mutual aſſurance, entreateth only celerity and ſwift performance of what they had concluded.

Scarce was the Earl of *Dowglaſs* in *England*, when the Earl of *Roſs*, the two Pillars of his Deſigns being Injuſtice and Violence, ſupported by fair hopes from the *South* with his wild Mountainers and Iſlanders (like an inundation) over-runneth the Neighbour bounds: *Argile* ſuffereth the firſt effects of their fury; the Iſle of *Arran*, is taken, and the Caſtle made a Bon-fire (as if they were the Sacrifice for the ſins of the reſt) the Biſhop of the Iſles ſaveth himſelf by flight, and taketh Sanctuary; *Lochquabar* and *Murrayland* are ſpoiled, the Town of *Innerneſs* is ſeton fire,

the Caſtle ſurpriſed, Murders, Raviſhings, Robberies, with what inſolency the barbarous Canibals could commit, are every where, and the ſad image of death ravageth amongſt the common people: The Earl of *Dowglaſs* now at his laſt ſhifts and efforts, leaveth no ſhifts nor helps unſought out; ſuch who lived upon prey and ſpoil reſort unto him; he maketh hot incurſions, and after a moſt hoſtile manner, which purchaſeth him the hatred of all his Country-men, and turned thoſe who were indifferent in his quarrel, his profeſſed enemies: this ravage continuing, *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland* (after ſlain at *Caxtoun*-field) whom love of the valor of the Houſe of *Dowglaſs*, and the true commiſeration, had brought to take arms with him, invadeth one quarter of the *Marſh*, and the Earl of *Dowglaſs* turneth towards another: But whilſt they are diſperſed, and more eager and intentive to carry away ſpoil, than to look to their own ſafety and military diſcipline, the Earl of *Anguſs*, with Sir *James Hamilton* of *Cadyow*, put them both (with number and confuſion overborn) to flight, ſlaying many, and taking more Priſoners: After this overthrow, during the Kings reign, the Earl of *Dowglaſs* deliberating not to oppoſe longer to neceſſity, but to be ſtill till better times, never attempted to Invade his Country.

Amidſt theſe incurſions, the Earl of *Ormond* at *Edenburgh* is beheaded: the Counteſs of *Dowglaſs*, *Beatrice* (all hopes being loſt of reſtoring her Huſband) deſpoiled of her Lands and fair Heritage, turned now a Monſter of Fortune, the blame of her unlawful Wedlock laid upon the Earl, conſented to by her out of a certain fear of her life, ſubmitted her ſelf to the Kings Clemency. The King, who denied not mercy to any that ſought it of him, that the leſs guilty amongſt the ſeditious might withdraw themſelves,

and

and the obſtinate remain the leſs powerful and weak, receiveth her; and giveth her in Marriage to his Brother *John*, Earl of *Athol*, ſon to the Black Knight of *Lorne*, deſigning for her Dowry the Lordſhip of *Balveny*.

By her example the Counteſs of *Roſs*, abhorring the fierceneſs and cruelties (as ſhe gave out) of her barbarous Husband, but rather out of policy to be an Agent for him, flyeth to the King, and hath Revenues allowed her for the maintenance of her Eſtate. Not long after the Earl of *Roſs* himſelf, the miſadventure of his Confederates having taught him now ſome wiſdom, having ſeen the Kings Clemency towards others equal to him in Treaſon and Rebellion, by many humble ſupplications craved pardon, and begged peace. The King by his great prudence, and the courſe of the affairs of his Kingdom, knew that it was neceſſary ſometimes to condeſcend to the imperfections and faults of ſome Subjects, and having compaſſion, apply and accomodate himſelf to that which though according to the ſtrictneſs of equity was not due, yet for the preſent occaſion and reaſon of State was convenient, anſwered, he would neither altogether pardon him, nor flatly reject him, there being many ſigns of his wickedneſs, few of his changed mind; when honeſtly without fraud or guile, he ſhould crave a Pardon, and give ſatisfaction to thoſe whom by blood and pillage he had wronged and by ſome noble action deface the remembrance of his former crimes, then ſhould it be good time to receive him. Notwithſtanding this ſhould not diſcourage him, but he ſhould know he had a deſire to make him reliſh the effects of his bounty, ſo he himſelf would find the means and ſubject. In this interim he wiſhed him to keep the common peace of the Country, and not oppreſs any of his Neighbours. About this time

the Univerſity of *Glaſgow* was founded by *William Turnbul* Biſhop of that See; *William Hay* Earl of *Arrol*, *George Creightoun* Earl of *Caithneſs*, *William* Lord *Creightoun*, died One thouſand four hundred fifty five, and the Biſhop of St. *Andrews* is made Chancellour.

The King partly having looſed, partly cut in pieces that Gordian knot of the League of his Nobility, began to reobtain again the ancient Authority of the Kings his Predeceſſours, giving and impoſing Laws to his Subjects, according to reaſon and greateſt conveniences. Shortly progreſſing through the Quarters of the kingdom, by the ſound counſel and inſtructions of the Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, *James Kennedy* and *William Saintclare* Earl of *Orknay*, uſed ſuch clemency, that in a ſhort time he reclaimed all his turbulent ſubjects. In the year One thouſand four hundred fifty five he held a Parliament, where he ratified what was reſolved upon to be done for the peace and weal of his People, eſtabliſhing many profitable Laws for the poſterity; after this time Embaſſadors came from *England* and *France* unto him.

Henry the ſixth, King of *England*, a ſoft facile Prince and more fit to obey than command, having reſtored in blood, and allowed the deſcent of *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *York*; the Duke under pretence and countenance of reforming the State, and removing of bad Counſellors from the Court (the umbrage of all Rebellions) by one *Jack Cade* an *Iriſh*, a bold man, and who had a Spirit which did not correſpond with his low condition, who feigned himſelf to be a Couſin of his, of the Houſe of *Mortimer*, and other his Inſtruments, raiſed a Rebellion; which began amongſt the *Kentiſh*-men, and was after continued by his Confederacy with the Duke of *Norfolk*, Earls of *Warwick*, *Salisbury*, *Devon*, and others;

and

and notwithſtanding he had ſworn fealty to King *Henry* at *Blackheath*, again openly took arms againſt him at St. *Albans*; where in pitched field *Edmond* Duke of *Somerſet*, his greateſt Competitor, and who had been preferred to his place in the Regency of *France*, was killed, the King wounded, taken and committed to the Tower of *London*. At a Parliament after, the Duke is made Protector of the Kingdom: at another Parliament he maketh claim for the Crown as in his own Right, laying down thus his Title. The Son of *Ann Mortimer*, Daughter and Heir to *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, Son and Heir of *Philip*, the Daughter and ſole Heir of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, the third Son of King *Edward* the Third, and elder Brother to *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, is to be preferred by very good right in Succeſſion of the Crown, before the Children of *John* of *Gaunt* the fourth Son of the ſaid *Edward* the Third; but *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York*, is come of *Philip*, the Daughter and ſole Heir of *Lionel*, Third Son to King *Edward* the Third, then to be preferred to the Children of the fourth Son, who was *John* of *Gaunt*, and ſo to *Henry* the Fourth the Uſurper his Son, to *Henry* ſtiling himſelf *Henry* the Fifth his Son, and *Henry* the Sixth now wrongfully calling himſelf King of *England*. This Parliament choſen to the Duke of *Yorks* own mind, at firſt various, at laſt unanimouſly enacted, that *Henry* during his life ſhould retain the Name and Honour of a *King*, but that the Duke of *York* ſhould be continued Protector of the Country, and be declared Heir apparent, and Succeſſor of the Crown after the death of *Henry*; *Margaret* the Queen, Daughter to *Renuy* King of *Sicily*, more couragious than her Husband, diſclaimeth the Parliamentary Authority, and this Agreement of her King with the Duke of *York*, as a matter done

to the prejudice of her Son, and againſt the Laws of Nations, which admit not of a forced Contract, and done by a Priſoner.

The Crown of *England* hanging at this point, the Queen to her defence imploring the aid and aſſiſtance of her beſt, greateſt Friends and Allies, ſendeth Embaſſadors to King *James*. Theſe remembring the duties one King oweth to another againſt Rebels, and the Uſurpers of their Crowns, the correſpondency and amity of King *Henry* with King *James* during his poſterity, expoſtulating the cruelty of the Rebels againſt *Edmond* the late Duke of *Somerſet*, Uncle to King *James*, ſlain by them in defence of his Prince, promiſe in their Kings Name, Queens and their Sons, with the approbation of the Noble-men of their Party, to reſtore to the Kings of *Scotland*, the Lands of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland* and Biſhoprick of *Durham*, after the manner the Kings of *Scotland* in former times had held theſe Territories of the Kings of *England*: ſo he would raiſe an Army, and advance to their aid and ſupply.

The Duke of *York* ſent hither alſo his Embaſſadors, giving in many complaints againſt King *Henry*; he had oppreſſed the people with taxations, and all kinds of exactations; he had preferred to places of State and Government new men, by whoſe counſel and his Queen, he governed only; he deſpiſed the old Nobility, he had loſt *Normandy* and *Gaſcony*, as *France* had been loſt by him, *England* was likely to run the ſame danger. They could not longer ſuffer his dull ſluggiſhneſs, and his Wifes exorbitant pride; he was courageleſs in War, and baſe in Peace. For the Duke of *York*, if Juſtice did not warrant his Claim, except his Deſcent were undiſputable, and his Title without all exception, he would not deſire the poſſeſſion nor ſucceſſion of the Crown. King

James

James ſhould remember, it was King *Henry* who entertained the late Diſſentions and civil Diſcords of *Scotland*; he ſupported the baniſhed *Scots* in *England*; and after they had much enlarged their diſcourſe with reaſons of a juſt War againſt King *Henry*, if King *James* will ariſe in arms againſt him, and aſſiſt them, They promiſe to reſtore and render all the Forts and places of importance taken in the old Wars from the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to him and his Succeſſors. King *James* anſwered the *Engliſh* Embaſſadors, *That he was not ignorant of the State of their Kingdom, neither to whom the Crown did appertain, but that he would not take upon him to be Umpire of their ſtrife; for the raiſing an Army, he would think upon it, though he had ſmall aſſurance for the performance of their promiſed conditions: he had long projected the recovering of the loſt Fortreſſes of* Scotland, *in their hands, and now he would try whom he might truſt.* The Embaſſadors diſmiſſed, the King raiſed an Army, but left to the Divination of the Poſterity, which of the Parties he was to ſide. The *Engliſh* and *French* Writers affirm he was to aid King *Henry*, and revenge the death of the Duke of *Somerſet* his Mothers Brother, the *Scotiſh* to aſſiſt the Duke of *York*, and that by a counterfeit Legate from the Pope after he had been upon his March, he was moved to return. It ſeemeth perſuaded by the *French* King (the ancient Confederate of *Scotland*, and who for that end had ſent his Embaſſador) to keep the *Engliſh* within their own Country, and diſable them in their Conqueſt of *France*, he intended upon the advantage of this Civil diſcord to make a rode in *England*, as the *French* made an Algarad by Sea upon *Kent*.

The *Kings* Army being gathered, that it ſhould not loyter in idleneſs, attending greater intelligence from the

the event of the *Engliſh* Factions, having paſſed the *Tweed*, invadeth the Town of *Roxburgh*, which with little travel is taken and equalled with the Ground; the Caſtle a ſtrong Fortreſs is beſieged. Whilſt the King here paſſeth the time, inviting it more by courteſies and blandiſhments, than Amunition and Warlike Engines to be rendred to him, Commiſſioners come from the Duke of *York*, requiring him to leave his Siege, and contain himſelf within his own Kingdom, unleſs he would run the hazard to engage himſelf in a War againſt the whole Body of the Kingdom of *England*; they give him thanks for his forwardneſs to their ſupply; all things ſucceeding after their deſires now, and as they could have wiſhed, they requeſt him to return home; when their neceſſity required his aid, they would implore it, and not prove forgetful for what he ſhould do towards him. King *James* asked the Commiſſioners, if the Duke of *York* and his Aſſociates had ſent any direction concerning the keeping of their promiſes to him, when he ſhould appear with an Army; They aſſuring him they had no ſuch Commiſſion; I (anſwered the *King*) before their Embaſſie came, had reſolved to take in and throw down this Caſtle builded upon my bounds, and being by no benefit obliged to any of your Factions, will not for words leave off what I am about by Arms to perform. The Commiſſioners departing the King cauſed apply his Battery againſt the Caſtle, which couragiouſly defended it ſelf, and holding good beyond expectation bred an opinion that Famine would be the only Engine to make it render.

The Kings Army daily at this Siege encreaſed, and amongſt all the Companies none were more forward and prompt to diſcharge their duties in this Service, then thoſe of the late League with the Earl

of

of *Dowglaſs*; above others the Earl of *Roſs*, to teſtifie his remembrance of the Kings clemency in his behalf, with a great company of his *Iriſh* came to the Camp, men only fit for tumultuous fights and ſpoil. *Alexander* Earl of *Huntley* coming, the King with the Earl of *Anguſs* would take a view of the Trenches, and as to welcome a man, whoſe preſence ſeemed to preſage good Fortune, cauſed diſcharge a pale of Ordinance together; but his coming to this place was as fatal, as at *Sterlin* proſperous; For at this *Salve*, by the ſlices of an over-charged piece or wedge, the King, his Thigh-bone broken, was ſtriken immediately dead, and the Earl of *Anguſs* was ſore bruiſed: This misfortune happened the third of *Auguſt*, the Twenty ninth, or as others, the Thirtieth of the Kings life: of his Raign Twenty four, the year One thouſand four hundred ſixty.

Who will take a fair view of this Prince, ſhall find him to have been endowed with what conditions and qualities are to be deſired or wiſhed in a Monarch, both for mind and body, of an excellent feature and pleaſant aſpect, aſtrong vigorous complexion, given to all Knightly exerciſes: He is ſaid to have had a broad red ſpot upon one of his cheeks, from which by his Country-men he was named *James with the fiery face*, which would make Phyſiognomiſts conceive, he was of an hot, active, violent diſpoſition, and one who had more need of reſtraint than encouragement in all difficulties; yet in his actions we find him temperate, ſtayed, and of a well ſetled humor, proceeding upon ſound grounds, and after mature deliberation; being much given to follow the advice and counſel of grave men about him; He was upright, ſincere, affable, courteous, loving to his Domeſticks, human towards his Enemies, gracious and benign to all men, a lover of Juſtice,

ſtice liberal, but without oppreſſion of his loyal Subjects; wiſe, in adverſity induſtrious and diligent, politick in affairs of State; having always raiſed up one Faction to relieve him from the hazard and burthen of another, and expoſe the Faction he moſt feared to the neareſt hazard: He was wiſely diffident, and put on a judicial diſtruſt, often to be governed as occaſions ſhould vary, and could diſſimulate according to the faſhions and changes of the time: He ſeemeth to have been indifferent in keeping his Favorites, and that he could ever as well transfer his fancy, as he had ſetled his affection; For like the Sun he would make a round, and not always ſhine upon the Horizon.

The death of the two Earls of *Dowglaſs* were fatal to him; and though he was innocent of the firſt, the ſecond chanced deſervedly in his hand; Couragious Princes are not to be provoked by any Subject how great ſoever: Confederations and Leagues are fearful attempts againſt Soveraignty, and for the moſt part end with the ruine of their Authors: The extirpation of the Earls of *Dowglaſs* in the perſon of *James* (a Churchman) proceeded rather from his own ſtubbornneſs, than any male-talent the King had againſt him. In all Nations it is obſerved, that there are ſome Families fatal to the ruine of their Common-wealths, and ſome perſons fatal to the ruine of the Houſes and Race of which they are deſcended: Since in Kingdoms ſome have no compaſſion of their Prince, nor the loſs of his Honour, a Prince ſhould not much regret their loſs, nor the ruine of their perſons and Eſtates: His great clemency appeared in this, That the heads taken away of that long Rebellion, he followed no particular revenge upon their followers, not only granting Pardons, but forgetting the offences; knowing it was better to heal and cure the faulty and ſick members of a State, than

to

to aboliſh and cut them away; and more valour for a Prince to overcome his own paſſions and juſt wrath, than to vanquiſh and ſubdue his proudeſt enemies; yet was not his clemency a ſoft weakneſs, it being no leſs cruelty to forgive all, than to ſpare none, but an order and diſcretion in Juſtice, temperate with ſeverity towards ſome more than towards others, according to their demerits: He was very ſenſible of the afflictions of ſuch as was diſtreſſed, as witneſs the Counteſſes of *Dowglaſs* and *Roſs:* His life having ſet in the Orient of his Age and hopes, he deſerveth in the Records of Memory and Fame, a place amongſt the beſt but unfortunate Princes.

He had Iſſue of his Queen, *James* who ſucceeded, *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, *John* Earl of *Mar*, *Margaret* Counteſs of *Arran* by the *Boyd*, and after Lady *Hamilton-Cecily*. He was buried with all Funeral-pomp, within the Monaſtery of *Holyrood-houſe* at *Edenburgh*.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Reign of James the Third, KING of SCOTLAND.

THE *Queen* having tidings of the diſaſter of her Husband, full of griefs and cares with her *Son*, came to the Army at *Roxburgh*; and the publick loſs being revealed (for till then it was whiſpered) with more than a maſculine Courage cauſed give new and deſperate aſſaults to the Caſtle; many Turrets being ſhaken, ſome Gates broken, parcels of walls beaten down, the Mines ready in diverſe quarters to Spring, the Beſieged ignorant of the Aſſailers misfortune, and by the diſſention of their Country-men from all hopes of relief, treat upon a ſurrender; conditions being obtained peaceably to depart with their lives and goods, the Fortreſs is given up: and ſhortly after, that it ſhould not be a Reſidence of oppreſſion in following times, is demoliſhed and equall'd with the ground.

Many of three Eſtates being here aſſembled, the Times not ſuiting with other Solemnities, at *Kelſo* the Peers of the Kingdom in a Military Pomp, ſet the Crown upon the head of the King, then ſome ſeven years old, and give him the Oath of Fidelity.

At

At their coming to *Edenburgh* the education and governance of him and the other Children is committed to the *Queen* their Mother: the Credence of what could make for Peace at home, or War abroad, is truſted to *Andrew Stuart* Lord *Annandale*, the Lord *Caſſils*, Earl of *Orknay*, the Lord *Boyd* Chancellor, the Lord *Grahame*, the Biſhops of St. *Andrews*, *Glaſgow* and *Dunkel*; the Civil Wars encreaſing in *England*, the Governours of *Scotland*, under colour of preſerving the bordering Countries, ſent forth ſome Companies, which upon occaſion made Roads in *Northumberland*, and threw down all the Fortreſſes out of which Incurſions were wont to be made upon the *Scottiſh* bounds, moſt eſpecially the Caſtle of *Wark*: after which ravaging, the Winter recalled them home.

The milder parts of the Kingdom reduced to order, Some turbulent Chiefs of the Mountainers taking the occaſion of the Non-age of the King, and of Rumors of Diſſentions amongſt the Governours, eſſay to trouble the Peace of their far and wild Countries: *Allan* Lord of *Lorn*, throweth his eldeſt Brother in cloſe Priſon, with intention to rob him of his Life and Eſtate; but he after is ſurprized by the Earl of *Argile*; *Donald* of the *Iſles* taketh the Caſtle of *Innerneſs*; and placing there a Garriſon, proclaimeth himſelf King of the *Iſles*, compelling the neighbour Towns and ſimpler ſort of people to pay him Taxes. At the Rumor of this inſolency all wicked Out-laws reſort unto him; by whoſe power he Invadeth the Caſtle of *Blair* in *Athol*, out of which the Earl the Kings Uncle with his Lady (once Counteſs of *Dowglaſs*) flie and take Sanctuary in the Church of Saint *Bride*, where the Church about them ſet on fire, they were irreligiouſly taken, and tranſported to the Iſland *Ila*. Whilſt the Governours were raiſing an Army, and

and advancing ſuch Forces as were in readineſs againſt the Actors of theſe miſchiefs, they were aſcertained that as theſe Savages were lanching forth of that Iſland in their Wherries and ſmall Veſſels made of boards and wicker, by a violent tempeſt from Heaven, the moſt part of them were daſhed againſt the Rocks and drowned: and thoſe who had eſcaped were ſtrucken with Pannick fears, and deprived of their right judgments and underſtandings, an ordinary accident to men blinded with Superſtition, and guilty of Murther and Sacriledge; amidſt which diſtractions, the Earl of *Athol* with his Lady was ſafely returned to his own Caſtle.

MARGARET Queen of *England*, after the ſecond overthrow and taking of her Husband at *Northampton* with the Prince her Son, and the new Duke of *Somerſet*, having fled to the Biſhoprick of *Durham* (whilſt *Richard* Duke of *York* was eſtabliſhing his Title and Right to the Crown at *London*) raiſed in the North of *Scots* and *Engliſh*, a ſtrong Army which marched towards *York*; the Duke of *York* leaving the King in the Cuſtody of the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Warwick*, though he knew himſelf inferiour in power and number to his enemies, by the pride of his former Victories and over-weening of his Souldiers valor, with *Edmund* Earl of *Rutland* his younger Son, the Earl of *Salsbury* and others, rencountreth her at *Wakefield*-green, and here by his own raſhneſs with his Son young *Rutland*, he is killed.

The Earl of *Salisbury* is taken, and with other Priſoners beheaded at *Pomfret* Caſtle; their Heads were fixed upon Poles about the Walls of the City of *York*; that of the Dukes was mocked with a Paper Crown, and expoſed to the barbarous mirth of the beholders: The Queen encouraged by this Victory, deſiring

deſiring to diſannul all Acts made lately in prejudice of her Husband, marcheth couragiouſly towards *London*; In which time *Edward* Earl of *March*, Son to the late Duke of *York*, overthrew the Earls of *Pembrook* and *Ormond*, both of the Queens Faction; at *Mortimer-Croſs*, in her way to *London*, the Queen meeting the Earl of *Warwick* and the Duke of *Norfolk* at St. *Albans* (who carryed King *Henry* her Husband along with them) overthrew them, and recovered the perſon of her King: It is obſerved, that Victory always fled from where this King was preſent: The Citizens of *London* at the approach of the Queens Army fearing Hoſtility, ſhut their Gates againſt her, and armed for reſiſtance: At this time *Edward* Earl of *March* having joyned his Victorious Army with the remainder of the Earl of *Warwick's*, entred in triumph the City of *London*, and with great applauſe and acclamations of the people, was Proclaimed King: Queen *Margaret* and her Faction retiring to the North, wan ſo the hearts of that people, that they gathered an Army able to ſtand for her defence, conſiſting of Threeſcore thouſand fighting men; *Edward* Earl of *March*, chooſing rather to provoke than to expect his Enemies, advanced towards them; the place of their meeting was between *Caxton* and *Tweton*: In this Fight the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland*, the Lords *Beaumont* and *Dacres*, *Grey* and *Wells* were ſlain, and above Thirty ſix thouſand *Engliſh* ſtruck down; the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exceſter* flie to *York* to carry the News to the unfortunate King, leaving the Victory to *Edward* who is again ſaluted King.

King *Henry* after this overthrow, perceiving how deſperate his hopes were in his own Country, with his Queen, his Son, and the remainder of his diſperſed friends, ſecured himſelf by flight into *Scotland*;

James Kennedy Biſhop of Saint *Andrews*, to whoſe perſon the Authority of the State was then reduced, received him with Magnificence and Honour, and put him in hopes, by the Aſſiſtance of *Scotland*, to reſtore his fortune: King *Henry*, as well to reſerve ſome Refuge and Sanctuary for himſelf, as to win the heart, and inſinuate himſelf in the favour of the People of *Scotland*, cauſed render the Town of *Berwick* to them, which the *Engliſh* had violently poſſeſſed ſince the days of *Edward* the Firſt, For which favour the *Scottiſh* Nobility vowed at all times to come to his ſupply, and defend him to their uttermoſt, and that the friendſhip begun might continue without all vacillation, the Queens of *Scotland* and *England*, both deſcended of the *French* Race, began to treat of an Alliance, promiſing *Edward* Prince of *Wales* ſhould be married with the Lady *Margaret*, the King of *Scotlands* Siſter, none of them then having attained the years of Marriage.

The miſeries of King *Henry* encreaſing, ſuffered not theſe two Queens to ſtay long together; *Margaret* with her Son *Edward*, to implore the aid of her Friends, maketh a Voyage towards *France* to her Father *Rhene* King of *Sicily*, *Naples* and *Jeruſalem*, Duke of *Anjou*, a Prince large of Titles, ſhort of Power: Theſe who had followed King *Henry* into *Scotland*, whileſt he is left only intentive to devotion in the Cloyſter of the Gray-Fryers at *Edenburgh*, return back again to ſolicite their Friends in *England* for a ſecond rencounter. Upon the arrival of Queen *Margaret* in *France*, ſhe obtaineth of her couſin *Lewis* the Eleventh, that thoſe who favoured and aſſiſted the Duke of *York*, were prohibited Traffique, and commanded to remove out of the *French* Dominions, and that Five hundred Soldiers ſhould come to her aid; a number ſo ſmall and ſo unworthy the name

name of an Army, that it was but a competent retinue for so great a Princess: with these she came to the coast of *Scotland*, and from thence sailed to *Tinmouth*, where being impulsed by the Inhabitants, and forced again to put to Sea, she was by a furious Tempest driven to *Berwick*.

Here leaving the Prince her Son *Edward*, with the encrease and supply of some *Scots*, taking the King her Husband with her, she advanced into the Bishoprick of *Durham*; in her march through *Northumberland*, her Army encreased to a great number: The Duke of *Somerset*, Sir *Ralph Piercy*, and divers of King *Henrys* well-wishers having resorted unto her; King *Edward* finding King *Henry* by the fresh air of the North to have acquired new Spirits, prepareth to oppose him, and having sent down the Lord *Mountague*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, he himself with greater Forces shortly followed: *Mountague* having through the Shires where he went, and the Bishoptick of *Durham*, gathered a convenient Army, marched directly against King *Henry*: In the mean time *Henry Beaufort* Duke of *Somerset*, the Lords *Hungerford*, *Ross*, *Moulines*, Sir *Ralph Piercy*, present themselves to hinder his further progress; They are overthrown, and King *Henry* with great difficulty escapeth to *Berwick*. At the news of this overthrow King *Edward* being in his March towards *Durham*, finding the presence of his Person, or Army needless, turned towards *York*, and gave the Earl of *Warwick* command to take in all the Castles and Fortresses which as yet held good for King *Henry* in the North.

Amongst the Garrisons placed in *Northumberland*, by the Queen there was a Garrison of the *French* in the Castle of *Anwick*, under the Command of *Peter Brace*, otherwise named *le Seigneur de la Varoune* Se-

neſchal of *Normandy*, which held long good againſt the *Engliſh*. This *Peter Bruce* was in great account with *Charles* the Seventh, Father to *Lewis* the Eleventh, and for this was not much liked of *Lewis*, but ſent over with Queen *Margaret* to make wrack upon apparent dangers; having eſcaped Tempeſts at Sea, he took the Caſtles of *Bambrough* and *Dunſtanbrough*, which he demoliſhed. After he eſſayed to keep the Caſtle of *Anwick*; but the Earl of *Warwick*, King *Edward* lying near to *Durham*, there beleagured him: Whether this man came from the Race of the *Bruces* of *Scotland*, or no, is uncertain; for the vulgar Writers in this detract him, naming him *Bryce* and a *Breton*, or that the *Scots* would give a proof of their friendſhip to the Queen of *England*, and of their valour to the *French*; whilſt he is every where beſet, and near paſt hope of relief, the Earl of *Anguſs*, then Warden of the *Marſhes*, raiſed a Power of twenty three thouſand horſe-men, remarkable for their Valour. Theſe about the midſt of the day coming near the Caſtle of *Anwick*, and by their colours and arms being known a far to Captain *Bruce*, he taketh a reſolution to ſally out and meet them; the ſtrongeſt of the *Scottiſh* Horſemen receiving them, convoy them ſafely to their Borders; ſoms of the Beſiegers would have fought in the purſuit, but the *Engliſh* General gave him fair paſſage.

King *Edward* having taken all the Caſtles and Forts which in the North held out againſt him, placing Garriſons in them, returned to *London*: as King *Henry*, void both of counſel and courage, came back to *Edenburgh*. Here he had not long ſtayed, when tired with the tedioufneſs of his exile, the prolonging of a wretched life, being more grievous to him than death it ſelf, and allured by falſe hopes of his Friends, he reſolveth to hazard upon a return to his

his own Kingdom, his Crown loſt, all his Favorers and well-wiſhers almoſt ſlaughtered, he cometh into *England*; then diſguiſed, and by night journies, ſhifting from place to place, at laſt betrayed by ſome of his Servants he is found out. It is recorded a Son of Sir *Edward Talbots* apprehended him as he ſate at Dinner at *Wadding Town-hall*; and like a Common Malefactor, with his Legs under the horſe belly, guarded him up towards *London*. By the way the Earl of *Warwick* met him, who led him Priſoner to the Tower. *Margaret* his deſolate Queen with her Son, is driven once again to flie to their Father *Rhene* into *France*.

King *Edward* his Competitors all dead or ſuppreſſed, finding a Ceſſation of Arms expedient, and a breathing time from War, to ſettle and make ſure his new Government, as to other his neighbour Princes for Peace, ſendeth Embaſſadors to *Scotland*, to treat for a Truce for ſome years.

The Earl of *Argile*, Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, Abbot of *Holy-rood*-houſe, Sir *Alexander Boyd*, Sir *William Cranſtoun*, being choſen to this effect Commiſſioners, come to *York*, and the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners there attending them, a Truce for fifteen years is agreed upon, and ſolemnly by both Kings after confirmed.

Mary Queen of *Scotland*, daughter to *Arnold* Duke of *Gilders*, and mother to King *James* (the projected Marriage of her Daughter with *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, by the miſeries of King *Henry* and Queen *Margaret* her kinſwoman proving deſperate; her Son *Alexander*, either as he went to the Low-Countries to ſee his Grand-father, or returned from him, being by the *Engliſh* taken upon the Seas) limited in credence of governing her Children by the inſolency of a proud Nobility, or reputation branded after a long languiſhing with inward diſcontent-

ments, turned as it were recluſe, and began to bid farewel to this world. Her melancholy growing incurable, amidſt her laſt Trances when her Son had come to viſit her, ſhe is ſaid to have ſpoken to him almoſt to this ſenſe.

That Providence which brought me upon the Earth, and ſet a Crown on my head, doth now recal and remove me to a better Kingdom; and my happineſs is not in this a little, that I leave this life without change of that Eſtate in which I peaceably lived. Death now ſheweth me as in a mirrour, the frailty of all worldly Pomp and glory, which before by the marble colours of falſe greatneſs was over-ſhadowed and covered from me. My Griefs have been many, few my contentments: The moſt eminent of which, was the hopes I conceived of you, and my other children: and now my greateſt regret is, that I leave you before I could ſee my wiſhes accompliſhed towards you. My only care was to have you brought up in all vertue, and goodneſs: But Heaven ſhall beſtow that charge to more prudent Governors. Always take theſe motherly directions from me, who can leave you no better Legacy. Be earneſt to obſerve theſe Commandments which are preſcribed unto you by Religion, for this ſupporteth the Scepters of Princes: and a Religious King cannot but have obedient Subjects. What an unreaſonable thing is it, that a King will have a People to acknowledge him for their Soveraign Prince upon Earth, and will not acknowledge God for his Supream Lord in Heaven? A King who rebelleth againſt God, all ſubordinate Creatures will rebel againſt him. Love my children, and laying aſide the Port and Statelineſs of a King, receive them with the affection of a Brother. Endeavour to make your Subjects obey you more out of Love than Fear: or make your ſelf beloved and feared both together, ſeeing love alone of it ſelf is often cauſe of

contempt,

contempt, and fear alone begets hatred. Remember ye Govern not the ſoft effeminate People of the South, *but a fierce Warlike Nation of the* North, *which oftner uſe to be entreated than commanded by their Princes. Be ſparing to lay Subſidies on them, which maketh many Male-contents; and live upon your own, ſuffering others to enjoy what is theirs: Beware of Flatterers, and exalting undeſerved perſons above your ancient Nobility. Suffer not your Prerogatives to come in Queſtion; but fore-ſeeing the danger, rather give way to all that with reaſon is demanded of you. Moderate your Paſſions; He ſhall never Govern a Kingdom, who cannot govern himſelf, and bring his Affections within the Circle of Reaſon. It fears me, Envy and Malice arm themſelves againſt you, which to overcome, endeavour to be Martial in your ſelf; for a Prince that is not Martial in himſelf, ſhall never be freed of Rebellion amongſt his Subjects: a ſtrong arm ſhould hold the Ballance of Juſtice: When diſſention ariſeth, be not a Loyterer and Sluggard, but with all celerity ſuppreſs it in the Infancy. Rebellion is like Fire in a City, which ſhould be quenched, though with the pulling down of the Neighbour Houſes: Others will inſtruct you in the art of Governing, with greater curioſity and wiſdom, but not with the like love and affection. I wiſh this counſel be ingraven in your heart and conſcience after my death, for a perpetual teſtimony of my ſincerity in your education. And if by the unjuſt counſel of others, ye be brought to practiſe ought contrary to theſe inſtructions, Remember ye cannot ſhun inevitable dangers both to your State and Perſon. But now I am warned from above to deliver this grief-ful Body to the reſt of a deſired Grave.*

After ſhe had thus counſelled and bleſſed her Son, not living many days, ſhe was buried with all Solem-

nities and Funeral Rites at *Edenburgh* in the Colledge of the *Trinity*, which ſhe her ſelf had Founded in
1466 the year One thouſand four hundred ſixty ſix.

The King as he encreaſed in years, encreaſing in ſtrength and ability for exerciſes either of recreation or valour, by the Regents is given to a Brother of the Lord *Boyd* to be bred in Knightly Proweſs; a man ſingular for his Education abroad and demeanor at home. The *Kennedies* were now aged, and become tyred to give ſuch aſſiduous attendance at Court as they were wont, and the times required. The Lord *Boyd* by the weakneſs of his Co-partners governed the State alone, as Sir *Alexander* his Brother did the young King: To whoſe Natural inclination he did ſo comply and conform himſelf, that he had the whole truſt of his affairs, and the *King* had no thoughts but his. So ſoon as the King began to know himſelf, he turned impatient of being ſubject to the Laws of Minority, that he himſelf ſhould be reſtrained by that Authority which did derive from him, to loath the Superintendency and Government of others, and to affect an unſeaſonable Priviledge to be at his own diſpoſal and the governing himſelf. Many things are done without the advice of the Governours, and occaſion is ſought to be diſburdened of their Authority. The Lord *Boyd* and his Brother in a little time encreaſing in greatneſs, and having an intention to transfer the Power of the State and Glory of the Court to their Family, fail not to find opportunity to free the King from the ſeverity and rigour of the Governours Schooling, and to frame him an eſcape. Whilſt the King remaining at *Linlithgow*, the Lord *Hayls*, Lord *Somervail*, Sir *Andrew Carre* of *Chesford*, Sir *Alexander Boyd*, agree upon a match of Hunting, and will have the King Umpire of the Game; Early, the morning following,

following, the Gentlemen who were upon the Plot failed not in their Attendance. The King being a mile off the Town, and holding the way towards *Edenburgh*, the Lord *Kennedy*, whoſe quarter then was to attend, and who had leaſurely followed, ſuſpecting this Hunting to be a Game of State, the King continuing his Progreſs, laying his hands upon the Reins of his Bridle, requeſted him to turn again to *Linlithgow*; for that he perceived the time was not convenient for him to go further, neither was he at a convenient match in abſence of his beſt deſerving followers: Sir *Alexander Boyd* impatient that the King ſhould have been thus ſtayed, after injurious words ſtroke the Reverend Governour with a Hunting-ſtaff upon the head, and took the King along with him to *Edenburgh*. At a frequent meeting of the States, the *Kennedies* urged to have the King continue under Minority, the *Boyds* to take the Government in his own Perſon; after long conteſtations, wiſdom being overcome by boldneſs, the Authority of the better party was forced to give place, and yield to the will of the greater. Thus the Faction of the *Boyds* prevailed.

After this the *Kennedies* full of indignation, and breathing Revenge, leave the Court; cares, grief and age about this time brought *James Kennedy*, Biſhop of St. *Andrews* to his Tomb, which in great magnificence he had raiſed in a Church builded by himſelf in the City of St. *Andrews*: where alſo he Founded a Colledge of Philoſophy, and endowed it with many Priviledges, and ſufficient Endowments to entertain Profeſſors. By the death of this Prelate, venerable for his Wiſdom, ſingular for his Juſtice, and the tranquillity following his Government, and magnificent in all his actions, the glory of the Court and Country ſuffered a great Eclipſe.

For

For, he taken away, the *Boyds* laying Foundations for their power and greatneſs, began to turn all to their own advantage; the firſt mark of their envy was *Patrick Graham*, the Brother of Biſhop *James Kennedy* by the Mother, who was Siſter to King *James* the Firſt; after this man had been choſen Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, as the Cuſtom then was, by the Chapter appointed for that Election, he was barred from his Place, and violently repulſed by the Faction at Court: To repair which indignity he made a journey to *Rome*; where, being a Man noble by birth above others, for his Learning and many Virtues, in a little time, by Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth, he was re-eſtabliſhed and confirmed in his Place.

During his abode at *Rome*, the old Queſtion concerning the liberty of the Church of *Scotland*, began to be exagitated.

The Archbiſhop of *York* conteſted, that he was Metropolitan of *Scotland*, and that the Twelve Biſhops of that Kingdom were ſubject to his Juriſdiction. *Patrick Graham* remonſtrated how the Archbiſhop of *York*, conſidering the uſual Wars between the two Kingdoms was often unacceptable to the Church-men of *Scotland*, eſpecially in Cauſes of appellation. The *Pope*, after the hearing of both Parties, Erected the See of St. *Andrews* to the dignity of an Archbiſhops See; and *Patrick Graham*, not only was made Primate and Metropolitan of *Scotland*, ordained to have the other Biſhops under him, but for the ſpace of three years deſigned Legate for the *Pope*, with full Power to Correct and Reſtore the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline; and examine the Manners and Converſation of the Clergy: Notwithſtanding theſe favours of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and the worth and excellencies of the man himſelf, he dared not return home to his own Country before the declining of the Fortunes of the *Boyds*. This

This Family seemed now in the Zenith and Vertical point of its greatness, no imputation could be laid to the *Boyds* in the time of their Government, except that they brought the young King by their private working, without the consent and approbation of the other Regents, to *Edenburgh*, for the assuming the Government in his Minority. In approbation of their innocency, and to warrant them from this danger, the King in a Parliament declareth publickly, that the *Boyds* were not the Authors, and projectors of that business, but only the Assisters of him and his followers, being not formal, but instrumentary causes of his coming to the Helm of the State himself: That they were so far from being obnoxious to any blame or reproach for this deed, that they deserved immortal thanks, and an honourable Guerdon in all time to come, having obeyed him in that which was most just, honest and expedient for the well of the Kingdom. Upon this Declaration of the King, the Lord *Boyd* required the present action might be registred amongst the Acts of Parliament, and he obtained what was desired, but not with that success was hoped for.

In this Parliament, the other Regents are rid of their charge, the Lord *Boyd* being made only Governor of the Kingdom, and the object of all mens respects. having the whole power and authority to minister justice of all kinds to the Subjects during the Kings non-age, and till he had fully compleat one and twenty years, the defence of the Kings Person, of his Brothers, the keeping of the two Ladies his Sisters, are trusted unto him: He hath all the Towns, Castles, Fortresses, Sea-ports, Places of Importance at his Command. These proceedings of the Parliament seemed to some very strange, in advancing Men already great enough, and bestowing upon

upon them all Offices of State, and adding power to ſuch who wanted only will to do miſchief, except that they knew well how to abaſe and pull them down again, making their fall the more ſudden. *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, having the Reins of Government in his hands, and the cuſtody of the Kings Siſter, dazelld with the Golden Sun of honour, to lay more ſure the foundation of his greatneſs, joyneth in Marriage *Thomas* his eldeſt *Son*, a youth of extraordinary endowments, both of mind and body, with *Margaret* the Kings eldeſt Siſter; Not long before deſigned by her Mother to have been given in Marriage to *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, and he is created Earl of *Arran*. The Father knowing how eaſily the converſation of young perſons breedeth a liking, had brought them up together, which turning in a love and delight of others company, concluded laſt in Marriage. This match though royal, great and rich, inſtead of ſupporting the Fortunes of the *Boyds* much weakned them, turning them the objects of envy. The Nobles repined at it, and the common people (lighter than the wind and more variable than the Rain-bow) made it the ſubject of their fooliſh diſcourſes. Now (ſaid they) the *Boyds* aſpire to the Crown; for the King with his Brothers removed it appertaineth to them, a Kingdom being the Dowry often of a Wife of the blood Royal. The *Kennedies*, and ſuch who diſliked the preſent Government take the occaſion of the diſcontentment of the Nobility, and the Rumors of the people, to ſhake the Kings mind towards the Governour, and change the brawl of State. To this end they give way to great and univerſal oppreſſions, moſt of which were hatched and occaſioned by themſelves. By theſe in a ſhort time the Commons turn licentious and diſſolute, contemning all Government, every man doing what

ſeemed

ſeemed beſt in his own eyes, and the Gentry divide in Factions: Such who wont to live upon Rapine and Theft returned to their wonted Trades: honeſt men are ſpoiled of their goods; the ſeditious and wicked are maintained and defended againſt all Laws and Juſtice by their Parties. The State thus troubled, and all order confounded, by ſlie and crafty men, who at firſt pretended great friendſhip and intereſt towards the *Boyds*, the Kings affection towards them is aſſailed, and reſolutions tryed. Many times having been plauſibly liſtened unto, at laſt, pulling off their masks, they lay imputations againſt them. They remonſtrate to him what great diſparagement was between the King of *Scotlands* eldeſt Siſter and the Son of the Lord *Boyd*; that by this match he was robbed of one of the faireſt jewels of his Crown; the *Boyds* ſhould not have appropriated that to themſelves of which they had only the keeping; ſhe ſhould have been reſerved for ſome Neighbour Prince, by which Alliance the State of the Kingdom, and the Perſon of the King might have been in great ſafety. For, if the King ſhould chance to be infeſted by ſome inſolent Nobility, the name and power of a neighbour Prince were ſufficient to keep him ſafe on his Throne, which by this match was endangered. They ſuggeſted that the *Boyds* builded their eſtimation in the air of popular applauſe, and endeavoured to endear themſelves in the opinion of the multitude. A Prince is not a Lord of that people that loveth another beter than him. Should the *Boyds* be accuſed of peculate and robbing the King and the common Treaſure, the King might make a prey of their unlawful conqueſt, and by their Attaindors reward the ſervices of many of his neceſſitated friends, it being acquired moſt part by ſpoils and the taxing of the Subjects unlawfully. The height to which their

riches

riches was encreaſed ſhould be feared; the faults of all the diſorders of the Commonwealth are laid upon the *Boyds*, as the Authors of every breaking out and ſedition: that they might the more ſecurely poſſeſs the places near the King. At this time complaints from all parts of the Kingdom, and by all ſorts of perſons, inceſſantly being given unto him, advance the intentions of their Enemies, and the Kings mind, naturally inclined to fears and ſuperſtition, being long toſſed and perplexed, began to turn away from the *Boyds*, and with their power in ſome degrees brought lower and leſſened (Preambles of Ruine) but he would go leaſurely to produce this effect and make one change bring forth another.

The King encreaſing in years and youthful perturbations, is counſelled for the continuing of the Race and Succeſſion, and the keeping his Perſon without the common diſorders of the world, to think upon ſome match profitable for his Country, and honourable for himſelf. He is courted by many, and courteth others; the Duke of *Burgundy* had offered him his Daughter, as to other Princes his friends and neighbours, but his mind was not to have her married at all during his life-time.

Andrew Stwart Lord *Evandale*, then Chancellour of the Kingdom, with the Biſhops of *Glaſgow* and *Orknay*, being ſent Embaſſadours to *Chriſtern* King of *Denmark* for an accommodation, and taking up ſome buſineſs concerning the Iſles of *Orkenay* and *Schythland* One thouſand four hundred ſixty eight, the quarrel was taken away by a marriage to be celebrated between the King and Lady *Margaret*, King *Chriſterns* daughter; a Lady thought worthy of his bed, in reſpect of the excellency of her beauty, her royal deſcent and greatneſs of her birth. All matters being agreed upon, theſe Iſles engaged for her Dowry,

Dowry, there wanted only an honourable retinue and convoy to bring home the Lady. To this Negotiation, by the craft of ſome about the King, and vanity of others, who gloried to ſee their friend promoted to ſuch great honour, *Thomas* Earl of *Arran*, as a man flouriſhing in fame and riches, and able to maintain and diſcharge all magnificence, is deputed as the fitteſt perſon. Thus by the ambition and unattentiveneſs of his friends, his worth was made the Scaffold of his Ruine; the lamentable condition of men of high deſert. In the beginning of the Harveſt, accompanied with ſome young Noblemen and Gallants, moſt of which were his ſelect friends and well-wiſhers, he aſcendeth his ſhips. Whilſt as the King of *Scotlands* brother in law, he is ſome months riotouſly entertained at the *Daniſh* Court, the rigor of that *Northern* Climate, by the congealing of the Ocean moored up his ſhips, and barred all return till the following Spring. In this abſence of a man ſo near unto the King, his Father and Uncle, by age, ſickneſs and their private affairs, not ſo frequently haunting the Court as they were accuſtomed: the *Kennedyes* and they of the contrary Faction having ſhaken the Kings affection, and broken theſe bands (his pleaſures, idleneſs, and vacancy from the publick affairs of the State) by which the *Boyds* thought they had kept him ſure, move him, now a little delighting in action, to proceed to the conſideration of ſuch matters as might be objected againſt the Government of the *Boyds*. But that this might not appear to be an act of Faction, but the univerſal conſent of the Kingdom apart, a Parliament was ſummoned to be holden in *November* at *Edenburgh*. Here *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, with his brother Sir *Alexander*, are ſummoned to anſwer in Judgment to ſuch points as ſhould be exhibited againſt them. At the appointed

appointed day the Lord *Boyd* appeared, but accompanied with ſuch multitude of the common people, and numbers of his friends, vaſſals, and followers all in arms, with ſuch oſtentation and boaſting, that the King and Courtiers were well pleaſed to ſuffer them diſſolve and ſcatter of their own free wills. At this inſolency and malepartneſs (yet to our own time an uſual cuſtom in *Scotland*) the King conceived ſuch indignation, that he raiſed a ſtrong guard to attend juſtice and his commandments, and laid ſecretly Forces to aſſiſt theſe if the *Boyds* ſhould oppoſe his laws by convocation of the Lieges. The Lord *Boyd* after private intelligence of the Minds of the Court to blow him up, rather amazed than in choler at the change of his Maſters mind, fled into *England*; his brother Sir *Alexander* areſted by ſickneſs, and relying upon his own integrity more than he ought to have done, conſidering the malice of his enemies, was brought before the Parliament; his brother and he were challenged, that upon the tenth of *July* One thouſand four hundred ſixty ſix, they laid hands upon the Kings Perſon, and againſt his purpoſe brought him off the high way to the Caſtle of *Calendar*; and that by their private power and conſent, contrary to the eſtabliſhed order of the State, and the other Regents advice, they brought the King to *Edenburgh*; when Sir *Alexander* ſought to produce an act of Parliament for abolition or approbation of this deed as good ſervice, it was kept up, and he being condemned had his Head cut off. Their other accuſations contained the topical faults of Favourites, that they had enriched themſelves out of the Kings Treaſure, monopolized things belonging to the Crown, diminiſhed the Revenues thereof, removed worthy men from the Council, placing ſuch in their rooms as had dependency from them. *Thomas*

Earl

Earl of *Arran* employed in a Publick charge by the kingdom, abſent, unheard, is declared Rebel with his father, and his moveables eſcheated to the King: to his original faults was added, that he dared marry the Kings Siſter without conſent of the States, the King being of non-age. At the noiſe of this thunder clap, *Robert* Lord *Boyd* left this world at *Anwick*: No ſooner had the Spring rendred the *Baltick* Seas Navigable, when the *Daniſh* Lady with her Fleet Anchored in the *Forth*: The Earl of *Arran* who was the Paranymphe and her convoy, in that general gladneſs, by the perſuaſions of ſome of his friends, was preparing to come on ſhore, and to ſubmit himſelf to the Kings clemency; but his Lady who had afar diſcerned his danger, coming abroad diſguiſed, and giving him particular information of the calamity of his houſe, the weakneſs of his friends at Court, and the many ſnares, envy and malice had laid to ſurpriſe him, he hoyſted Sails, and with her, who would be partaker of all his misfortunes, returned to *Denmark*; from *Denmark* by *Germany*, he came to King *Lovys* in *France*, who interpoſed his requeſts to King *James* for his regreſs and reſtoring; but the Letters in his favour producing no effects, *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* making War againſt his Rebel Subjects, he was graciouſly received by him and entertained as his Ally; his Lady remained at *Antwerp*, where ſhe bore him two children, *James* and *Gracile*.

Lady *Margaret* the 10 of *July* 1469. or after others, 1470. maketh her entry into *Edenburgh*, and ſcarce having attained the ſixteenth year of her age, is married to King *James* in the Abby Church of *Holy-rood houſe*; and in the month of *November* following by a Convention of the three Eſtates was Crowned Queen. 1469.

The King inexorable in the behalf of the Earl of

Arran, and breathing his total Ruine, ſendeth Letters to *Antwerp*, filled with promiſes and threatnings, to move his Siſter to return to *Scotland*. Theſe at the firſt prevailed nothing with this Lady to make her forſake the husband of her youth; many Letters, and from ſeveral friends and well-wiſhers in ſeveral faſhions and ſtiles, coming to her, at laſt ſhe was brought to believe her preſence would mollifie the mind of her enemies, and work her husband a re-eſtabliſhment of his former favours with the King her Brother, and reſtore him to all his Poſſeſſions and Dignities: Upon which hopes ſhe comes to *Scotland*. But theſe hopes proved all falſe; for inſtead of having acceſs to her brother, ſhe is kept at *Kilmarnock* the chief Houſe of the *Boyds*, as in a free Priſon, and her Husband is ſummoned within threeſcore days to adhere to his Wife under pain of Divorce: the unfortunate Earl for fear of his head, not appearing, his Marriage is declared Null; his Wife is divorced from him, and is conſtrained to marry *James* Lord *Hamilton*, to whom alſo the Earldom of *Arran* was given for Dowry. Not long after her two children to Earl *Thomas*, *James* and *Gracile* are brought to *Scotland* who in the proceeding of time proved little more fortunate than their Father; for *James* was ſlain by *Hugh Montgomery* of *Eglington*, and *Gracile* though firſt married to the Earl of *Caſſiles*, and after to the Lord *Forbeſs*, was barren. Some have recorded that the Earl *Thomas*, after this violent bereaving him of his Wife, died of diſpleaſure at *Antwerp*, and had a Tomb raiſed over him with an honourable Inſcription by *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*; others who hate the *Boyds*, tell he died not at *Antwerp* but at *Florence*, and that he was killed by a Merchant of *Florence* out of jealouſie of having abuſed his Wife.

Queen

Queen *Margaret* the third year after her Marriage in the Month of *March* brought forth a Son who was named *James*; and *Chriſtern* King of *Denmark* to congratulate the happy delivery of his daughter, and of expectation of a continued ſucceſſion to the Crown of *Scotland* of his Race, releaſed all his right, title, claim, which he or his ſucceſſors might have to the Iſles of *Orkney* and *Scythland*. The King calleth after a Parliament at *Edenburgh*, wherein, though the Reformation of abuſes, as wearing of Silk and other foraign triffles, the building of Ships, and the enacting Laws for the preſent time were pretended, a liberal Subſidy was the greateſt aim. His Exchequer being empty, and many of his beſt friends turning neceſſitous and needy, *John* Lord of the Iſles was attainted for his own and his Fathers miſdemeanour, the King raiſeth Forces to purſue him; the Earl of *Crawford* being made Admiral, the Earl of *Athol* the Kings Uncle Lieutenant of the Regiments by Land, ſuch means in a ſhort time was uſed by the Earl of *Athol*, that the Lord of the Iſles ſubmitted himſelf to the Kings clemency, and in a convention of the States at *Edenburgh*, he reſigned all the right he had to the Earldom of *Roſs*, the lands of *Knapden* and *Kintyre*, which the King annexed to the Crown.

Patrick Graham Arch-Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, having at *Rome* underſtood the fall of the *Boyds* returneth to his own Country; where firſt amongſt his friends, and the moſt peaceable ſort of the Clergy, he divulgateth the Bull of the *Pope* for his Supremacy over the other Churchmen of the Kingdom, and his power of their tryal and promoting to benefices, and after cauſed proclaim it at all publick places. The laudable Elections anciently uſed about the Places and Offices of Churchmen by the cor-

ruption of the times, being taken away, and that Power altogether aſſumed by the King. The Courtiers, who were accuſtomed to ſell Benefices, and the Churchmen who were wont to buy them, reject the Bull, and ſet themſelves againſt him; by their traffick he is diſcharged to take the Place or Ornaments of an Arch-Biſhop, or carry any other Croſs or Cap than what the former Biſhops uſed to have. But here they ſet not up their reſt, *William Schevez* a man in thoſe times admired for his skill in Aſtrology, and promoted to be Arch-Dean of Saint *Andrews*, ſeconded by *John Lock* the Rector of that Univerſity, a better Grammarian than Chriſtian, Excommunicates this Arch-Biſhop for his preſumption, and that he ſought to bear Rule over his brethren Biſhops. When this cenſure had paſſed upon him, he is degraded and ſhut up in Priſon. *William Schevez* is after promoted to his place, and Conſecrated upon the Paſſion Sunday in *Lent* at *Holy-rood houſe*, the King being preſent: he likewiſe received the Title and Faculty of Legate, and is confirmed Primate of the Realm; notwithſtanding the impediments objected to *Patrick Graham* by the Church-men concerning that ſame dignity and preheminency; *So various and deceitful are the ways of Men.*

The *King* being ſlow to action, and more inclined to a ſolitary form of Life, than to travel and buſineſs; his brothers being Princes of unquiet and reſtleſs Spirits, to whom publick imployments were recreations; and withal being ambitious, prodigal, deſirous
1469. of Rule, and to be Governours of the people themſelves, and Kings in fact, however their elder brother was in title; they ſet themſelves altogether to ſtudy novations, and bring the King in contempt with his Subjects, and divert their minds and love towards him. To this effect they had drawn by their toward

neſs

neſs and familiarity, many of the young Nobles and Gentlemen to follow them. The King was obnoxious to ſome publick Scandals, for by his too great frugality, care to encreaſe his Treaſure, and ſtudy of Purchaſing by Taxations, ſale of Church Benefices, and too exact taking up of Fines, ſupervaluation of Wards; he had gotten the name of Covetous, and was no ſmall diſtaſt amongſt the Commons. *Edward* King of *England* that the *Scots* by the inſtigation of the *French*, ſhould not trouble his new and ſcarce ſettled government, imploying all his counſels and diligence to divide them amongſt themſelves, wrought not a little on the unquiet Spirits of theſe young men. The Duke of *Albany* having been taken upon the Seas by the *Engliſh*, was honourably entertained by him, and with great hopes ſent home; after which time King *Edward* and he kept always private Intelligence together. The Duke being promoted to the keeping of the Caſtle of *Dumbar* and Town of *Berwick*; the King of *England*, to inſinuate himſelf in his affection, was wont to whiſper unto ſuch who loved him, That if his Brother kept not fair with *England*, he would one day ſet him in his Place upon his Royal Throne.

At this time the King was ſerved by men whom his opinion of their worth and love towards him had advanced to places, and whoſe Fortunes and Eſtates wholly depended upon his ſafety, and who were leſs apt to do him harm. His counſel was likewiſe of men approved for their affection to him; and thus ſecluding great men from his familiarity and affairs, he gave them cauſe of offence. His brothers long masking their ambition under diſcontentment, ſtir the Male-contents to complain againſt the Government, which ordinarily falleth forth, not becauſe a people is not well governed, but becauſe great ones

would govern themſelves. Theſe upbraided the King with inglorious ſloath, and endeavour by his diſhonour to encreaſe the credit of his Brothers. Theſe ſpared not to ſpeak evil of him every where, and what they pleaſed of his Miniſters and Favourites; they ſaid he neither uſed rule nor moderation in his proceedings, that his counſel was baſe, and of men of no great account, who conſulted only to humour him; That a Maſon ſwayed a Kingdom (this was *Robert Cochranne*; a man couragious and bold, firſt known to the King by his valour in a ſingle Combat, and after from an Architect or Surveyor of his buildings, preferred to be of his counſel) a ſilly wretch ſwayed the ſoul of a great King, and curbed it, as it were interdicted or charmed to his pleaſure. His contributions were the rewards of Paraſites, to whom fortune, not merit gave growth and augmentation; that honours wept over ſuch baſe men who had not deſerved them; and the ſtately frames of ancient houſes upbraided with reproaches the ſlender merits of thoſe new-up-ſtarts who enjoyed them; that he began to look downwards into every ſordid way of enriching himſelf: That his Privadoes abuſed him in every thing, but in nothing more than in making him believe, what was plotting againſt them, was againſt his Perſon and Authority; and that it was not them his brothers and the Nobility ſought to pull down but his Soveraignty.

His counſellors, ſervants, and ſuch who loved him, having long buſied their wits to ſave their Maſters reputation, and that no ſhadow of weakneſs ſhould appear to the common People, underſtanding by whom theſe rumours were firſt ſpread abroad, and obſerving many of the Nobility and Gentry to favour the proceedings of his brothers, not daring diſcloſe themſelves to the King what their ſuſpicions made them feat

would

would come to paſs, knowing him naturally ſuperſtitious, an admirer and believer of Divinations, ſuborn an aged woman one morning as he went a hunting to approach him, and tell, ſhe had by Divination, that he ſhould beware of his neareſt kinſmen; that from them his ruine was likely to come. This was no ſooner told when the Woman was ſhifted, and ſome who were upon the Plot began to comment the Propheſie of his brothers. A Profeſſor of Phyſick, for his skill in Divination brought from *Germany*, and promoted to ſome Church-benefice, about that ſame time told the King, That in *Scotland* a Lyon ſhould be devoured by his Whelps. *William Schevez*, then Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, by way of Aſtrological predictions, put him in a fear of imminent dangers from his kindred, though truly he had his knowledge from Geomancy and good informations upon earth, by the intelligence between the Nobility and Churchmen.

Many ſuch like aſperſions being laid upon the King, the people cryed out that he had only for his fellow-companions Aſtrologers and Sooth-ſayers, whom as occaſion ſerved, he preferred to the Church-benefices, and Biſhopricks. *Patrick Graham*, then Priſoner in *Dumfermling*, a man deſolate and forgotten, as if there had not been ſuch a man in the world, taking the opportunity of the rumours of the time, ſent a Letter to the King, which contained.

That the miſery of his impriſonment, was not ſo grievous unto him as the ſad reports which he heard of his Majeſties eſtate; he was hardly brought to believe them, but by his long detention and impriſonment, he was aſſured his great enemy was in great credit with him. That he had brought the King very low in making him jealous of his brothers by giving truſt to his vain Divinations; and no wonder thoſe Arts bring

forth diſſentions, which have their precepts from the father of lyes and diſcord: to foment diſcord among brothers, was reproachful to Religion, and outragious to Policy; to ſeek to know things to come by the Stars was great ignorance, that Oracles leave a man in a wilderneſs of folly.

That there was no other difference betwixt Necromancy and Aſtrology, ſaving that in one, men run voluntarily to the Devil, and in the other ignorantly. Humanity attains not to the ſecrets above, and if it did, it is not wiſe enough to divert the wiſdom of heaven, which is not to be reſiſted, but ſubmitted unto; that never any had recourſe to theſe arts, but they had fatal ends; That almighty providence permitting that to befall them out of his juſtice of neceſſity, which before the Oracle was ſought, was ſcarce contingent; that he ſhould reſt upon the Almighties Providence, and then all things would ſucceed well with him, whoſe favors would waſt him out of the ſurges of uncertainties.

After this free opening of his mind, *Patrick Graham* was removed out of *Dumfermling* to the Caſtle of *Loch-leven* (a place renowned long after by the impriſonment of *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*) where in a ſhort time he left the miſeries of this world.

The people now throughly deceived and incenſed againſt their King, the moſt audacious of the Nobility had brought his brothers on the way of taking the Government to themſelves, their power being able to perform what their ambition projected; and the murmuring of the people ſeeming to applaud any Inſurrections. The Earl of *Marr*, young and raſh, purblind in foreſeeing the events of things, is ſtirred up to begin the Tragedy; ſome of the Nobility of his Faction being preſent, with more liberty than wiſdom, he broke out in menacing and undecent

cent ſpeeches, as that his brother did wrong to his Majeſty in keeping near him, and being ſo familiar with ſuch contemptible fellows, as theſe of his Bedchamber and Officers; withal, railing againſt the Government of the State and Court. The King paſſionately reſenting his words, cauſed remove him from his preſence, and he perſevering in his railing, was committed to the Caſtle of *Craigmillar*, where ſurmiſing that he was in a Priſon, his anger turned into a rage, his rage kindled a Feaver, and his Feaver advanced to a Phrenſie: This ſickneſs encreaſing, that he might be more neer to the Court and his friends, in the Night he is tranſported to the Cannons Gate in *Edenburgh*: the King compaſſionate of his diſeaſe, ſendeth his Phyſitians to attend him; they to reſtore his underſtanding which was moleſted, open ſome veins of his head and arms, in which time whether by his own diſorder or miſgovernment in his ſickneſs, the bands being looſed which tyed the lancing, or that they took too great a quantity of blood from him, he fainted, and after ſowning, died unawares amongſt the hands of his beſt friends and ſervants. Theſe who hated the King, gave out that he was taken away by his command, and ſome Writers have recorded the ſame; but no ſuch faith ſhould be given unto them. as to *B. W. E.* who was living in that time, and whoſe Records we have followed, who for his place could not but know, and for his poſſeſſion would not but deliver the very Truth; certain Witches and Sorcerers being taken and examined, and convicted of Sorcery at this time, and being ſuborned, they confeſſed that the Earl of *Marr* had dealt with them in prejudice of the King and to have him taken away by incantation. For the Kings Image being framed in Wax, and with many ſpels and incantations baptized, and ſet unto a fire,

fire, they perſwaded themſelves the Kings perſon ſhould fall away as that Image conſumed by the fire, and by the death of the King, the brothers ſhould reach the Government of the State; with ſuch vanities was the common people amuſed.

Alexander Duke of *Albany* imputing the death of his brother to the favourites of the King, and avouching them to have been the occaſioners of his diſtraction, ſtirred the Nobility and People to revenge ſo foul a deed; but whilſt he keeps private meetings with them of his Faction in the Night to facilitate their enterpriſe, betrayed by ſome of his followers, he is ſurpriſed and impriſoned in the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*. Out of which about the appointed time of his tryal, by the killing of his keeper he eſcaped, and in a Ship which to that effect was hired, ſailing to the Caſtle of *Dumbar*, of which he had the keeping, he paſſed to *France*. After the eſcape of the Duke of *Albany*, the Lord *Evandale* Chancellour of the Kingdom, raiſing the power of the neareſt Shires, beleagured the Caſtle of *Dumbar:* the beſieged unprovided of Victuals, as men expecting no ſuch alterations, betake themſelves in ſmall Boats to the Sea, and came ſafe towards the Coaſts of *England*. The Caſtle having none to defend it, is taken; ſome Gentlemen in purſuit of the flying ſouldiers, by their own raſhneſs periſhed.

The Kings of *Scotland* and *England* toſſed along with civil troubles, and affecting peace with all their neighbours, by an equal and mutual conſent of thoughts ſend at one time Ambaſſadors to one another, who firſt conclude a Peace between the two Nations; and that the Poſterity might be partakers of this accord, contract afterwards an Alliance between the two Kings. It was agreed that the Princeſs *Cicilia* youngeſt daughter to King *Edward*, ſhould

ſhould marry with *James* Duke of *Rothſay*, when they came to years of diſcretion. A motion heard with great acceptance; but it was thought by ſome familiar with King *Edward* and in his moſt inward Counſels, that really he never intended this marriage, and that this negotiation aimed only to temporize with *Scotland*, in caſe that *Louys* of *France* ſhould ſtir up an Invaſion of *England* by the King of *Scotland*. King *Louys* at this time had ſent one Doctor *Ireland* a *Sorboniſt* to move King *James* to trouble the Kingdom of *England*, and to give over the projected marriage; which when King *Edward* underſtood, knowing what a diſtance was between things promiſed and performed, to oblige King *James*, and tye him more ſtrongly to the bargain, that this marriage might have more ſway, he cauſed for the preſent maintenance of the Prince, and as it were a part of the Dowry of Lady *Cicilia*, deliver certain ſums of money to King *James*. Notwithſtanding of which benevolence the witty *Louys* wrought ſo with the *Scottiſh* Nobility, that King *James* ſent Embaſſadors to the King of *England*, entreating him not to aſſiſt the Duke of *Burgundy* his brother in Law againſt King *Lovys*, which if he refuſed to do, the Nobility of *Scotland* who were now turned inſolent, would conſtrain him by reaſon of the ancient League between the *French* and the *Scots* to aſſiſt the *French*.

The Duke of *Albany* during his abode in *France*, had married a Daughter of the Earl of *Bulloigne* (ſhe was his ſecond Wife, his firſt having been a Daughter of the Earl of *Orkenay*, a Lady of great Parentage, and many Friends) who inceſſantly importuned King *Lovys* to aid the Duke for the recovery of his Inheritance and places in the State of *Scotland*, out of which he was kept by the evil Counſellors of his brother *Louys* minding to make good uſe of his brother,

brother, and underhand increaſing diſcords and jealouſies between him and the King of *England*, ſlighting his ſuits told him, he could not juſtifie his taking of Arms to ſettle a Subject in his Inheritance; That Princes ought to be wrought upon by perſuaſion, not violence, and he ſhould not trouble a King otherways then by Prayers and Petitions, which he would be earneſt to perform. Upon this refuſal the Duke of *Albany* (having buried his Dutcheſs) troubled with new thoughts came to *England*. King *Edward* with accuſtomated courteſies receiving him, giveth him hopes of aſſiſtance, entring of in communication with him how to divert the Kingdom of *Scotland* from the invaſion of his Dominions at the deſire of the *French*, the Agents and traffickers of *Louys* lying ſtill in *Scotland*, and daily bribing and ſoliciting the *Scots* Nobility to neceſſitate the *Engliſh* to ſtay at home. The Duke freely, and in the worſt ſenſe revealed the weakneſs of his Kingdom, that his King was opinionative, and had nothing of a Prince in him but the Name: His ungoverned Spirit diſdained to liſten to the temperate Counſel of ſober men, obeying only his own judgment. Such who govern'd under him, were mean perſons and of no account, great only by his favour, and indued with little virtue, who ruling as they liſted, and excluding all others, made uſe of his Authority for their own profit and advantage. The Nobility were male-contents, and affected a change in the Government; which might eaſily be brought to paſs by the aſſiſtance of King *Edward*. If he would help to raiſe ſome civil broyls and diſſention in the Nation it ſelf, he needed not to be in fear that they could or would trouble his country by any Invaſion: The King hearing the Duke manifeſt what he moſt affected, approving his judgment, promiſed him all neceſſa-

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ries, and what he could desire to accomplish the design: and he undertaketh by some fair way to traffick with the Nobility of *Scotland* for an alteration of the present form of Government. After a dangerous intelligence, the Lords of *Scotland*, who under the shadow of the Publick good, but really out of their disdain and particular interests, conspired against the King, send the Duke word, the golden Age could not be fram'd, nor arms taken for the good of the Commonwealth, nor the State alter'd, without the sequestring of those from the King who misgovern'd him. And these could not be remov'd by that power which was amongst themselves, without great danger and trouble, considering the Kings Faction and the Malignant Party. If King *Edward* would agree to the raising of an Army in *England* in favour of the Duke of *Albany*, and for restoring him to his Places and Inheritance, out of which he was most unjustly ejected: and other pretences, of which they should afford the occasions; which no way should do harm to the Kingdom of *Scotland* disorder'd already, and laid waste, more by the licence of a Tyrant in Peace, than it could have been by War; and at this time bestow upon them favours, as they might one day hereafter challenge to receive the like; the Nobility of *Scotland* should be ready with another Army, not to fight, but to seize upon the Kings Favourites, and misgovernors of the State: for which the *English* should have many thanks. That this Enterprize could not but prove most successful, the hatred of the Commons considered against such violent oppressions. The King was fallen into so low esteem, that assaulted by the *English*, he would be constrain'd by the submission of his Crown to intreat for safety. The King of *England* understanding this was to touch the finest string of State and Dominion

minion (for it is a matter of much conſequence and main importance, to defend the Subjects of another Prince; for under this Mask and pretence of protecting the Liberties of a People, of aſſiſtance and aid, an Uſurpation and oppreſſion of all Liberty might be hidden; and many have eſtabliſhed and ſetled themſelves in thoſe Kingdoms, which they came to relieve from Tyranny, and the Oppreſſion of their Rulers, keeping by Force what was granted to them at firſt by way of truſt, and under the colour of helping uſurped a Soveraignty) agreeth eaſily to what was demanded and reſolved upon.

The Lords of the Aſſociation to play more covertly their Game, and mask their intentions (the Commons ever ſuffering and paying for the faults and errors of the great ones) give way for the breaking looſe of the Borderers. Fierce incurſions by the *Engliſh* are made upon *Scotland*, and by the *Scots* upon *England*, ſome Villages on either ſide are burnt. The ſecrecy to this buſineſs, which was inviolably obſerved, was of great importance, which is the principal knot and tye of great affairs. Rumours are ſpread that the Dukes of *Glouceſter* and *Albany*, with *James* late Earl of *Dowglaſs*, and *Alexander Ferdan* and *Patrick Halyburton*, men proſcrib'd, and upon whoſe heads a price was ſet, were at *Anwick* with a powerful Army, and in their march towards *Kelſo*. The King wakned out of his Trances by the Alarms of his Nobility and clamors of the People, made Proclamations to all between ſixty years and ſixteen to meet him at *Edenburgh*, and to be in readineſs to oppoſe their old enemies of *England* now come upon the Borders.

After many delayes and much loytering, an Army is aſſembled by the Nobility, which conſiſted of Two and twenty thouſand and five hundred; and

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a number of Carts charged with ſmall Ordinance. New Incurſions being blazed to have been made by the *Engliſh*, the King amidſt theſe Troops marched to *Lawder*. The Army was encamped, and all things Ordered the beſt way the occaſion could ſuffer them, little or nothing being left to Fortune, if the *Engliſh* ſhould Invade, whom the Lords knew were not at all yet gathered, and though gathered, and in a Body, and upon the Borders, or nearer, would never Invade them.

The King at this time is marvellouſly perplexed, and become ſuſpicious of the intentions of his Nobility in this Army, in this confuſion of thoughts, fell upon two extreames. In his demeanor and converſation too familiar and inward with his old Domeſtick Servants and Favourites, which rendred them inſolent (believing the bare Name of King to be ſufficient whilſt weakneſs and ſimplicity had made him deſpiſed, and them hated) and too retired, reſerved and eſtranged from his Nobility, which made them malicious.

This he did as his penſiveneſs conjectured, that his Nobles ſhould not attempt any thing to the prejudice of his royal Authority, independant of any Council. But what he moſt feared came to paſs; he reſolved and diſpatched all matters by his Cabinet Counſel: where the Surveyor of his Buildings was better acquainted with the affairs of the State than the graveſt of his Nobility. This prepoſterous courſe of favour made the great men of the Kingdom to fall headlong upon their raſh, though long projected attempt. After many private conferences in their Pavillions, the Chiefs of the Inſurrection, as the Earls of *Anguſs Lennox*, *Huntley*, the Lords *Gray*, *Lile* and others, about Midnight come together in the Church of *Lawder* with many Barons and Gentlemen.

tlemen. Here every of them urging the neceſſity of the times, and the dangers the Commonwealth was like to fall into, requireth ſpeedy reſolutions: and having before premeditated, deliberated and concluded what to follow, they draw up a League and confederation of mutual adherence in this order.

Foraſmuch as the King ſuffereth himſelf to be governed by mean perſons and men of no account, to the contempt of the Nobility, and his beſt Subjects, and to the great loſs of the Commons: The Confederates conſidering the imminent dangers of the Kingdom, ſhall endeavour to ſeparate the Kings Majeſty from theſe naughty upſtarts, who abuſe his Name and Authority, and deſpiſe of all good men; and have a care that the Commonwealth receive no dammage. And in this quarrel they ſhall all ſtand mutually every one to the defence of another. The deſign agreed upon, and the Confederacy ſworn, the Chiefs of them in Arms enter the Kings Pavillion, where, after they had challenged him of many miſorders in his Government, contrary to his Honour, the Laws and good of his Kingdom, they took Sir *William Roger*, a man from a Muſitian, promoted to be a Knight, *James Homill*, *Robert Cochran*, who of a Surveyor of his works was made Earl of *Mar*, or as ſome mitigate that Title, Intromittor and taker up of the Rents of that Earldom, by whoſe device (ſome Authors have alledged) copper moneys had been coyned, by which a dearth was brought amongſt the Commons; which (as others have recorded) was an unjuſt imputation, for that copper money was coined in the Minority of the King, in the time of the Government of the *Boyds*, with others. All theſe being convicted by the clamours of the Army, were immediately hanged upon the Lidder. *John Ramſey* a youth of eighteen years of age, by the





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the intreaties, prayers, embraces of the King was preſerved. Thus they the late objects of envy, were turn'd and become the objects of pity and compaſſion. The body of the Commons and the Gentry of the Kingdom by this notorious act at *Lawder*, being engaged, and being made partakers of the Quarrel of the diſcontented Noblemen, and for their own ſafety tyed to ſecond and aſſiſt all their intentions, and to advance their ends; The King is conveyed to *Edenburgh*, and ſhortly after he either encloſed himſelf in the *Maiden Caſtle* as his Lodging, or which is more probable, was there, by the contrary Faction committed, as his Priſon, the Earl of *Athol* and ſome other Lords being appointed to attend him.

During this time the general humours of the Kingdom being ripe for miſchief, *Alexander* Duke of *Albany* (every thing falling right as it was plotted) prevailed ſo with King *Edward*, that the Duke of *Glouceſter* the King of *Englands* brother, with the Title of Lieutenant General for him ſet forwards toward *Scotland*. The Army conſiſted of Two and twenty thouſand and five hundred. In his retinue went of the Nobility *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Thomas* Lord *Stanley*, with them was the Duke of *Albany*. The Earl of *Dowglaſs* came not being reſerved for an after-game. The Duke of *Albany* having been before Commander of *Berwick*, and a Man who was ſtill in his abſence beloved of that Garriſon, diverted the Duke of *Glouceſter* from *Anwick* where he had incamped in *June*, to aſſail the Town of *Berwick*. By his intelligence they enter the Town without great oppoſition, and it is given up to their diſcretion. The Caſtle by the Lord *Hails* the Captain, was made good againſt their aſſaults. The Duke of *Glouceſter* fore-ſeeing that this Siege would ſpend much time, conſidering the uncertainty of

events, and being invited to march forward by the Lords of the aſſociation of *Scotland*, committing the charge of aſſailing the Caſtle to the Lord *Stanley*, Sir *John Elrington*, and Sir *William Parr*, with the body of the Army marched directly to *Edenburgh*.

The Country lay open to their Invaſion; no Army taking the Field to oppoſe them, they came in
1482. *Scotland* the twentieth day of *Auguſt* One thouſand four hundred eighty two. The Army encamped at *Reſtlerig*, the Duke himſelf entred the Town of *Edenburgh* which at the intreaty of the Duke of *Albany*, who was his Harbinger, he ſpar'd, receiving ſuch preſents as the Citizens offered unto him. His entry ſeeming rather a Triumph than Hoſtile Invaſion. The King being ſhut up from him and immured in the Caſtle, the Duke by a publick writing at the Market Places gave out high Demands; That King *James* ſhould perform what he had Covenanted with his Brother King *Edward*; That he ſhould give ſatisfaction for the Damage done the *Engliſh* during the laſt Inroads of the Borders, which if he refuſed to accompliſh, he as Lieutenant to his Brother was to exact of him and take ſatisfaction of his Country, denouncing him open War, and proclaiming him all Hoſtility. King *James* forſaken of his People, and wronged by his Lords, laying aſide his Paſſions, and taking to him more moderate and diſcreet thoughts, as a Man in Priſon, anſwered nothing to his Demands.

The Lords, who by their Kings misfortune had reckon'd their felicity, having obtain'd what they chiefly deſir'd to obviate the common and laſt danger, the thraldom of their Kingdom by theſe ſtrangers whom they had drawn into the Country for the recovery of their Liberties, aſſemble themſelves together at *Hadington* with ſome Companies, not to Fight

Fight but to Supplicate. They ſent the Lord *Darnley* and the Elected Biſhop of *Murray* to entreat a ſuſpenſion of Arms, and require a firm and laſting Peace for time to come. The beginning of the War, and taking of Arms was for the ſafety of this the neighbour Country of *England*, miſerably thral'd by a licentious Prince: there was nothing more unworthy of a King or Republick, than not to keep their promis'd Faith. The *Engliſh* could have no colour for executing their indignation further upon this Country, which already by the rapine of their own Men was impoveriſh'd and unmanur'd: Only now to be recover'd by entertaining Peace with their Neighbours, and amongſt themſelves. They require that the Marriage contracted between the Prince of *Rotheſay* and Lady *Cicily* King *Edwards* Daughter might be accompliſh'd when it ſhould pleaſe the King of *England*, and the age of the two Princes might ſuffer it. For any ſpoil taken in theſe laſt incurſions, the intereſt conſidered upon both ſides, ſatisfaction ſhould be given out of the publick contributions. The Duke of *Glouceſter* as forgetting and ſeeming not to know the grounds of their coming into the Country, and looking to nothing more than his own Fame and Glory, Anſwer'd, his coming into *Scotland*, was to right the honour of his Country ſo often violated: and to reſtore the Duke of *Albanie*, unjuſtly commanded to Exile, to his own native ſoyl, and the dignity of his Birth: as concerning the Marriage of the Prince of *Scotland* with the Daughter of *England*, He knew not how his Brothers reſolution ſtood at the preſent; whereupon he requir'd repayment of the monys lent to their King upon their firſt agreement: and withal a delivery of the Caſtle of *Berwick* up into his hands: or if they could not make the Caſtle to be render'd, they ſhould give their oaths

upon the holy Evangeliſts that they ſhould neither aſſiſt the Beſieged, or harm the Beſiegers, till the Caſtle were either by Force taken, or upon fair conditions rendred.

The Lords having received this Anſwer, yielded freely to all the Conditions, except they found themſelves perplexed in the rendring of *Berwick:* it being a Town of old appertaining to the Crown of *Scotland*, though by force and Violence the *Engliſh* had a long time kept it, That did not take away their right and Title. After much conteſting, agreeing to the ſurrender of *Berwick*, they deſired that the Walls of the Town ſhould be demoliſhed, that it might not be a place of Tyranny and Incurſion over their bordering Countries. No arguments could prevail againſt the Duke of *Glouceſters* Reſolutions, and being ſtronger in Power he perſever'd in his demands, and in all likelihood this was agreed upon between the Duke of *Albany* and the Confederate Lords, and the *Engliſh*, before their entring *Scotland.* Thus the Caſtle and Town of *Berwick* returned to the *Engliſh* the Twenty fourth of *Auguſt* One thouſand four hundred eighty two; after it had been delivered by Queen *Margarite* to gain Sanctuary for her Husband King *Henry* (when expelled *England*) and remained in the Poſſeſſion of the *Scots* twenty and one years.

They likewiſe appointed a day for reſtitution of all the Monys lent by King *Edward*, and promiſed upon a full diſcuſſion to make ſatisfaction for all dammages done the *Engliſh* by any Inroad of the *Scottiſh* Borders. For the Duke of *Albanies* proviſion, whoſe ſafety was principally pretended in this Expedition, a general Pardon was promiſed for him and all his followers; Together with an abolition of all diſcontents; whereby he had given unto him

him the Caſtle of *Dumbar*, with the Earldoms of *Mar* and *March*; he ſhould be reinveſted in all his former Dignities and Places, and by conſent of the Nobility of *Scotland*, he was Proclaimed Lieutenant of the Kingdom.

The Peace Proclaimed, the Duke of *Glouceſter* in all ſolemnity of greatneſs returned towards *London*, being welcomed by the King with many demonſtrations of great joy. He to ſhow how much he approved the conditions of this Peace, went ſolemnly in proceſſion from St. *Stephens* Chappel, now the Parliament Houſe, accompanied with the Queen his Siſter, and a mighty retinue of the greateſt Lords into *Weſtminſter* Hall. Where in preſence of the Earl of *Anguſs*, the Lord *Gray*, and Sir *James Liddale*, Embaſſadors extraordinary from *Scotland*, the Peace was Ratified. At the return of the *Scots* Embaſſadors to their Country, King *Edward* ſent an Herauld with them, who in his Maſters name gave over the Marriage contracted between the Lady *Cicilia* and the Prince of *Rothſay*, and required the money which had been delivered upon hopes of conſummation to his King. The Citizens of *Edenburgh* had given their Bond for the redelivery, and a day being granted to them for the Payment, they at the appointed day entirely delivered the ſum. Some thought King *Edward* recalled this Marriage of a ſuſpicion he conceived, that the Ambition of the Duke of *Albany*, and the hatred of the Subjects againſt their King amidſt the manifold diſtractions of the Realm, might hazard the Succeſſion of the Prince of *Rothſay* to the Crown. But King *Edward* having gained what he had endeavoured moſt to acquire, a diviſion amongſt the Nobles of *Scotland*, and by this a Security from their aſſiſting the *French*, rejected the Match. Beſides the Duke of

Glouceſter, who after his coming in *Scotland*, was laying the Foundations of the Uſurping the Crown of *England*, his Brother once dead, thought the Alliance of his Brothers Daughter with a King of *Scotland* too ſtrong a Support to that Race, which he was to declare Baſtard, and a Rock upon which he was confident he ſhould make a fearful ſhipwrack. Neither his Brothers daughter being married to a King of ſuch martial and turbulent Subjects as the people of *Scotland*, durſt he ever attempt the taking away of her Brothers: and King *Edward* in neglect of this Match committed a greater error of State than he did in his marrying the Lady *Elizabeth Gray*, and forſaking the Lady *Bona* Daughter to the Duke of *Savoy*.

According to the Records of ſome Authors whilſt the King is kept nine Months in the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, the Duke of *Albany*, the Lord *Evandale* Chancellour, the Earl of *Arguile*, the Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews*, the Earl of *Athol* his Uncle (who for the preſervation of his perſon and honour of his Office accepted the charge to attend him in that Fortreſs) govern'd the State.

The King (ſay the honeſt Records) had all honour which appertained to a Prince, ſave that he could not come abroad, and none was permitted to ſpeak unto him, except in the audience of ſome one of his Lords Keepers; and that his Chamber doors were ſhut before the ſetting of the Sun and long after the riſing opened. Proclamations were Publiſht in his Name and Authority, and other publick Writings. Such who only heard of him could not but take him to be a free and abſolute Prince, when near he was but a King in phantaſie, and his Throne but

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a Picture, the Regal Authority being turned into a Cloak to cover the Paſſions of thoſe who did govern.

The Duke of *Albany* daily importuned by the ſolicitations, Prayers and tears of the Queen (a calm and temperate Lady) for her Husbands Liberty; finding himſelf not ſo reſpected by the other Governours as his Birth and merits did deſerve; being a man who delighted in nothing more than in changes and novations of Court and State: after ſo many ſcorns and rebukes offered to his Brother, and King, commiſerating his long ſufferance, and believing that good turns would make paſt offences be forgotten, and recent benefits were ſufficient to blot away old injuries, with all remembrance of former diſcontents, whilſt the other Governours at *Sterling*, ſecurely paſſed the time, poſted in the Night to *Edenburgh*. Here a meeting being appointed of ſome of his Friends and Vaſſals, who knew nothing of his intentions, by the aſſiſtance of the Citizens of *Edenburgh* (men entirely loving their King and devoted to him all the time of the Inſurrection of his Nobles) who gave the firſt aſſault, (yet was it rather their intelligence than Force) the Caſtle is ſurprized, the King and all his Servants ſet at liberty. This unexpected and noble Act of the Duke of *Albany*, having ſo fortunate a ſucceſs, brought a mighty change on the Court and State. The King is now again reinſtall'd, and hath this Reſidence in his own Palace, to which many Noblemen and Gentlemen, have frequent concourſe; rejoycing to ſee ſuch evident tokens of love paſs between the two Brothers, if their affection could have continued. The Provoſt and Baylies of *Edenburgh* in recompence of their Service, were made Sheriffs within all the bounds of their own Territories, and rewarded with other Priviledges con-

tained in that Patent, which they call their Golden Charter One thouſand four hundred eighty two. The Lords of the contrary Faction, who remained at *Sterlin*, by this new accident, betook themſelves to new thoughts and conſiderations, every man full of fears and repinings flying to his own dwelling place, and conceiving a great hatred againſt the Duke of *Albany*. They ſaid he was inconſtant, raſh, mad, in ſetting at liberty the man who would prove his Executioner, and one who would never forget any profer'd injury: that if he periſhed before them, it was but his own juſt deſerving and procurement. The Duke contemning thoſe reproaches, and anſwering their calumnies and evil words with patience and good deeds, by the mediation of the Earl of *Anguſs*, ſtudied a reconciliation between the King and his diſcontented Lords. And his endeavours had ſuch good ſucceſs, that in a ſhort time after this Atonement; ſome of them turned ſo familiar and inward with the King, that, like the *Ivy*, they began to ſap the wall by which they had been ſupported. They made the wound of the Kings old jealouſies ranckle again, and added poyſon to former diſcontents; remembring him of the unnaturalneſs of his Brothers firſt Rebellion, and aſſuring him that his ancient Ambition had yet more power of him than his new fears of honeſty and reſpect. That howſoever he ſhewed outwardly the arguments of a reconciled Brother, he loved yet to govern, and aimed at the Crown.

That he had wrought his liberty to bring a greater confuſion in the State than he had ever done before. The King, who ever had a watchful eye over his reconciled enemies, and who deſired to be freed and fairly quited of them all, gave way to their calumnies. And they after long deliberation reſolve upon a Plot to bring the Duke within compaſs of Law;

Law: and ſummoned him to anſwer upon Treaſon. And this was the rendring of the Town of *Berwick* to the *Engliſh:* which they undertook to prove was only by his Intelligence, procuration, and being in company with the Duke of *Glouceſter*, in that expedition. Though the Duke had an abſolute and general Pardon and an abolition for all was paſt, and the Kings hand at it, they doubted not to null and make it void. All being done by a King conſtrained by a powerful Army, and a cloſe Priſoner, which writing could not oblige any private man, far leſs a King: what he then bargained was upon conſtraint, and yielded unto upon hopes of ſaving his life, and an Act exacted by force. The Duke of *Albany* finding by the Malice and detraction of a malignant Faction, his Brothers countenance altered towards him, and danger the requital of his late ſetting him at liberty, the eſtabliſhed reconciliation being ſhaken by ſuſpicions and fancy of revenge, obeying neceſſity, fled to his Caſtle of *Dumbar*, out of which he came to *England* to preſent to King *Edward* and the Duke of *Glouceſter* the conſideration of his grievances.

In his abſence he is convinced of many points of Treaſon, beſides the being acceſſary to the taking of *Berwick* by the *Engliſh*. As his dangerous and long intelligence with the King of *England*: his ſending of many Meſſengers at all occaſions unto him. That, without any ſafe conduct or paſs from his Brother, and not ſo much as acquainting him, he had left the Country, come into *England* to deviſe Conſpiracies againſt his King and native Kingdom. The Lord *Creighton* as his friend aſſociate and complice, is foreſeited with him, againſt whom Informations were given, That often and divers times, under the pretence of hunting ſecretly with the Duke of *Albany*, he

he rode into *England*, and there meeting with Commiſſioners ſent by King *Edward*, he deliberated of matters concerning novations and of the altering the State, That there he kept appointments with *James* Earl of *Douglaſs*, the often quench'd fire-brand of his Country. That in ſpight of the Kings Forces ſent their to lie in Garriſon, he kept the Caſtle of *Creighton*. The greateſt diſcontent the King conceived againſt him was love to one of his Siſters, and ſome feminine jealouſies. When the Duke underſtood the proceedings againſt himſelf and the Lord *Creighton*, and that for their contumacy and not appearing to anſwer, and give in their anſwer, they were convict of Treaſon, and their Lands to be ſeized upon; He cauſed give up the Caſtle of *Dumbar*, of which he was Lieutenant, to King *Edward*, who immediately placed by Sea a Garriſon in it.

About this time *Edward* King of *England* left this World One thouſand four hundred eighty three, and his Brother *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*, did firſt take the name of Protector and Governour of the Kingdom of *England*, and after his Brothers Sons put in the Tower, and their Mother the Queen taking Sanctuary, in the Month of *June* poſſeſt himſelf of the Crown.

The Duke of *Albany* finding that *Richard* by his change of Fortune had not changed his affection towards him, imploreth his Aid in reſtoring him to his own, and repairing not his wrongs alone, but a wrong done in his ſufferings to the King of *England*, ſith there was now an open breach of the Truce and Peace ſo ſolemnly by him ſet down and confirmed by his Brother. If he could be furniſhed but with a few number of choice men of reputation and power to paſs into *Scotland*, and take a tryal of the Minds

and

and good will of his Friends and Confederates, he doubted not at his entring the Country to find numbers who by his preſence would hazard upon the moſt deſperate dangers.

Richard finding the man his Supplicant with whom he endeavoured once an entire friendſhip, and whoſe advancement in Authority he had moſt ſtudied, condeſcendeth that five hundred men and Horſes ſhould be choſen upon the borders, with others who were outlaws and neceſſitated ſometime to make incurſions, and with *James* the old Earl of *Douglaſs*, a man well known and renowned in the Weſt-borders, ſhould make an in-road into *Scotland.*

The two and twentieth day of *July*, the baniſhed Champion having choſen a good number of their borderers put forward towards *Loch-Maben* to ſurprize a Fair, ſpoil a publick Market, ſeize upon all the Buyers and Sellers, which here meet and Traffick every St. *Magdalens* Feſtival, under pretence of Devotion and the liberty of Trading many *Engliſh* had hither reſorted: at the twelfth hour of the day when the Merchants and Country-people were in greateſt ſecurity, the *Burſe* is Invaded and not Bloud but Wares ſought after; the Laird of *Johnſtoun* who was Warden, and Laird of *Cockpool*, with many ſtout Borderers having Surveyed and Ridden through the places where the People were met, to prevent and hinder all diſorders and dangers, at the noiſe of an Incurſion of the *Engliſh*, diſpatch Poſts to the adjacent bounds for ſupply, and in the mean time rencounter the Plunderers of the Fair. Here is it Fought with greater courage than force, and in a long continued Skirmiſh the danger of the loſs ſtir'd up and incited the parties as much as Fame and Glory.

The day was near ſpent leaving the advantage to either

either ſide diſputable, when the ſupply of freſh men come to defend their Country, and Friends turned the Fortune of the Fight, and put the *Engliſh* borderers all to the rout. The Duke of *Albany* by the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe, and the good attendance of his Servants winneth *Engliſh* ground: but the Earl of *Dowglaſs* loaden and heavy with years and arms, is taken by *Robert Kirken-patrick* (who for that ſervice got the lands of *Kirk-michael*) and brought as in triumph to *Edenburgh*. It is Recorded that when the Earl was come in the Kings preſence, he turn'd his back and refus'd to look him in the face, conſidering the many outrages he had perpetrated againſt his Father, and this late offence. The King taken with the goodly perſonage, gravity, and great age of the man, commiſerating his long patience and croſs fortune being in his young days deſigned to be a Churchman, confin'd him as in a free Priſon in the Abacy of *Lyndores*.

Beſides he conſidered that when occaſion ſerved he might bring him out of this ſolitarineſs, and in theſe turbulent times by his counſel and preſence play more advantageouſly his game of State, being a man of long experience in the affairs of the World, and the moſt learned of all his Nobility. He was now become tyred of the Earl of *Anguſs*, the remembrance of his firſt offence remaining deeply ingraven in his heart, and to counterpoiſe his greatneſs this was the only weight. The Duke of *Albany* found little better entertainment in *England*, the Battel being loſt, ſome men taken and killed (this being the firſt road upon *Scotland* under the Reign of *Richard*, who had been formerly ſo fortunate in his own Perſon) his Fame injur'd, and reputation by this diminiſhed, the Duke began to be diſliked, and was not received with that kindneſs he was wont, whereupon

on by the Aſſiſtance and Convoy of *John Liddale*, he ſecretly retired to *France*.

After the Road of *Lochmaben* ſundry incurſions are made by the *Scots* upon the *Engliſh* borders, and by the *Engliſh* upon the *Scottiſh*: The Champian ground is ſcoured, houſes are burnt, booties taken, with great loſs to both, and little advantage to any of the Parties. *Richard* having his Reign in his Infancy, and not yet ſettled nor come to any growth and maturity, being obnoxious to the ſcandal of his Brothers Sons, and poſſeſſed with fears of *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* then remaining in *France*, who by all honeſt and good men was earneſtly invited to come home, and hazard one day of battel for a whole Kingdom, knowing it neceſſary for the advancement of his deſigns to have Peace with all his Neighbour Princes, to render himſelf more ſecure and ſafe at home, and terrible to his Enemies abroad, ſendeth Embaſſadours to *Scotland* to treat a Peace, or a ſuſpenſion of Arms for ſome years; King *James* no ſoftlier rocked in the Cradle of State than *Richard*; chearfully accepteth this Embaſſage; for by a Peace he may a little calm the Stormy and wild minds of tumultuous Subjects, reducing them to a more quiet faſhion of living, and ſeclude his Rebels and baniſht from entertainment in *England*, and all places of Refuge and Sanctuary. The two Kings agreeing in ſubſtance, Commiſſioners are appointed to meet at *Nottingham* the ſeventh day of *September*. For the King of *Scotland* appear'd, the Earl of *Arguil*, *William Elvingſtoun* Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, the Lord *Drummond* of *Stobhall*, the Lord *Olyphant*, *Archibald Whitelaw* Secretary, *Duncan Dundaſs*, Lyon King of Arms. For *Richard* of *England* appeared, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Stanley*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Fitſhugh*, *John Gunthrope* Privy Seal, *Thomas*

mas Barrow, Maſter of the Rolls, Sir *Thomas Bryan* Chief Juſtice.

In the latter end of *September* theſe conclude a Peace between both Realms for the ſpace of Three years. The ſame to begin at the riſing of the Sun *September* twenty nine, in the year One thouſand four hundred eighty four; and to continue unto the ſetting of the Sun on the Twenty ninth of *September* in the year One thouſand four hundred eighty ſeven. During which time it was agreed, that not only all Hoſtility and War ſhould ceaſe between the two Realms, but that alſo all Aid and Aſſiſtance againſt enemies ſhould be afforded.

It was agreed, the Town and Caſtle of *Berwick* ſhould remain in the hands of the *Engliſh* for the ſpace of the foreſaid term, with the ſame bounds the *Engliſh* poſſeſſed.

That all other Caſtles, Holds, Fortreſſes during the term of three years ſhould remain in the hands of thoſe that held them at that preſent, the Caſtle of *Dumbar* only excepted, which the Duke of *Albany* delivered to the *Engliſh* when he left his Country. Which Caſtle for the ſpace of ſix months ſhould be expoſed to the Invaſion of the *Scots*, if they could obtain it, and during the aſſaulting of this Caſtle, the Truce ſhould not be broken. Neither ſhould the *Engliſh* within the Caſtle do any harm to the *Scots* dwelling thereabouts, except to thoſe who invade the Caſtle, and at that time. And that it ſhould be lawful to any of the Parties, to uſe all Stratagems, and extend their power either for winning or defending the ſaid Caſtle.

It was agreed, *That no Traitor of either Realm ſhould be received by any of the Princes of the other Realms: and if any Traitor or Rebel chance to arrive in either Realm, the Prince thereof ſhould deliver him upon demand made.*

Scots

Scots *abiding within the Realm of* England *and ſworn there to the King, may remain ſtill, ſo their names be made known to the King of* Scotland *within fourty days.*

If any Warden of either Realm ſhall Invade the others Subjects, he to whom ſuch a Warden is ſubject ſhall within ſix days, Proclaim him Traitor, and certifie the other Prince thereof within twelve days.

In every ſafe conduct this Clauſe ſhall be contained, Providing always that the Obtainer of the ſafe Conduct be no Traytor.

If any of the Subjects of either Prince, do preſume to Aid and help, maintain and ſerve any other Prince, againſt any of the Contractors of this Truce, then it ſhall be lawful for him to whom he ſhewed himſelf enemy, to apprehend and attach the ſaid Subject, coming or tarrying within any of their Dominions.

Collegues comprehended in the Truce (if they would aſſent thereunto) on the Engliſh *part were, The King of* Caſtile, *the King of* Arragon, *the King of* Portugal, *the Arch-Duke of* Auſtria *and* Burgundy, *the Duke of* Bretaign. *Upon the Scottiſh part,* Charles *King of* Denmark *and* Norway, *the Duke of* Guilderland, *this Treaty was appointed to be Publiſhed the firſt of October in all the great and notable Towns of both Realms.*

It was agreed that Commiſſioners ſhould meet at Loch-maben *the eighteenth of* November *as well for Redreſs of Wrongs done on the Weſt Marches, as for declaring and Publiſhing the Peace, where the greateſt difficulty was to have it obſerved.*

Richard after this Truce intreated a Marriage between the Prince of *Rothſay* eldeſt Son to King *James*, and Lady *Ann de la Pool*, Daughter to *John* Duke of *Suffolk* of his Siſter. To this effect Embaſſadours met at *Nottingham*, others ſay at *York*, and

and it is concluded. Writings thereupon being drawn up, ingroſſed and ſealed. And Affiances made and taken up by Proctors and Deputies of both parts. Lady *Ann* thereafter being ſtiled the Princes of *Rothſay*. But by the death of her Uncle ſhe enjoyed not long that Title:

After the League and intended Marriage, King *James* wrote friendly Letters to *Richard* concerning the Caſtle of *Dumbar*, Whether he could be content that the ſame ſhould remain only ſix months in the power of the *Engliſh*, or during the whole ſpace of Truce? That he was not minded to ſeek it by Arms during the term of the whole Truce. Notwithſtanding he earneſtly required out of the bond of Love and friendſhip between them, ſince it was given unto the *Engliſh* by Treaſon, and neither ſurpriſed nor taken in lawful War, it might be friendly rendred. *Richard* dall'yd with him, and paſs'd away that purpoſe with complemental Letters all the time of his Government, which was not long; for the year One thouſand four hundred eighty ſix. *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* came with ſome Companies out of *France* (of which that famous Warriour *Bernard Stuart* Lord *Aubany*, Brother to the Lord *Darnley* in *Scotland*, had the Leading) which by the reſort of his Country men turned into an Army, and rencountred *Richard* at *Boſworth* where he was killed, and *Henry* Proclaimed King of *England*: To which Victory it was uncertain whether Vertue or Fortune did more contribute.

Alexander Duke of *Albany* before this diſaſter of *Richard*, at a Tilting with *Louys* Duke of *Orleance* by a ſplint of a Spear in his head had received his death-wound, One thouſand four hundred eighty three: He was a man of great courage, an enemy to Reſt and Peace, delighting in conſtant changes and novations.

He

He left behind two Sons, *John* Duke of *Albany* begotten of his ſecond Marriage upon the Earl of *Bulloignes* Daughter, who was Tutor to King *James* the Fifth and Governour of *Scotland*, and *Alexander* born of the Earl of *Orkenays* Daughter his firſt Wife, Biſhop of *Murray*, and Abbot of *Skroon*. Into which places he was intruded, to make the Government of his other Brother more peaceable.

Margarite the Queen about theſe times, a good and vertuous Lady, died One thouſand four hundred eighty ſix, and was buried at *Cambuskennel* the Twenty ninth of *February*.

The overthrow and death of *Richard* being known abroad, King *James* taking the advantage of the time, beſieged the Caſtle of *Dumbar*. The Garriſon'd Souldiers finding no relief nor aſſiſtance from their Country, and aſcertained of the change of their Maſter, rendered up the Fort to the hands of the *Scots*; it was of no great importance to the *Engliſh*, and only ſerved to be a fair bridge of Treaſon for *Scottiſh* Rebels, and a Cittadel of Conſpiracies.

Henry King of *England* after his Victory and Coronation, ſent *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Exeter*, and Sir *Richard Edgecomb* Embaſſadours to King *James*, for renewing the Truce, and if it were poſſible, to agree upon a Stable and laſting Peace between the Realms. King *James* taking a promiſe of the ſecrecy of the Embaſſadours, that what he imparted to them, ſhould not be laid open to his Nobility, told, *He earneſtly affected a Peace with all his Neighbours, but above all others with their King, as much for this own valour, as for the honour and intereſts of the two Kingdoms: But he knew his People ſo ſtubborn and oppoſite to all his deſigns, that if they underſtood his mind and reſolutions, they would endeavour to croſs his intentions; wherefore publickly*

he could only condeſcend to ſeven years Truce, a long Peace being hardly obtained from men brought up in the free licence of War, who diſdained to be reſtrained within the Narrow limits of Laws. Notwithſtanding they ſhould undertake for him to King Henry, *in the Word of a Prince, that this Truce before the exſpiring of it ſhould be renewed, and with all ſolemnities again confirmed.*

The Embaſſadours reſpecting his good will towards their King, accepted the conditions. Thus was there a Truce or Peace covenanted and confirmed for ſeven years to come between the two Realms.

After ſo many back-blows of Fortune and ſuch canvaſſing, the King enjoying a Peace with all his Neighbours abroad, became exceeding religious; the miſeries of Life drawing the mind to the contemplations of what ſhall be after it. During his reſidence at *Edenburgh* he was wont to come in Proceſſion from the Abby of *Holy-rood houſe* to the Churches in the High-Town every Wedneſday and Friday. By which Devotion he became beloved of his People: Nothing more winning their hearts than the opinion they have of the Sanctity of a perſon. And that he did not this for the Faſhion nor Hypocriſie, the application of his wit and power to the Adminiſtration of ſtrict juſtice did prove; for he began to ſuppreſs the inſolencies of ſtrong Oppreſſors, defend and maintain the Rights of the Poor, againſt Tyrants and abuſers of their Neighbours. He ſitteth himſelf in Council daily, and diſpoſeth affairs of moſt weight in his own perſon.

In the Month of *October* following the Peace with *England*, One thouſand four hundred eighty ſeven a Parliament was called, in which many Acts were made againſt Oppreſſours. Juſtices were appointed to paſs through the whole Kingdom, and ſee male-

factours

factors deservedly punished. Acts were made that no convention of friends should be suffered for the accompanying and defence of criminal Persons: But that every one Attainted should appear at the most with six Proctors; that, if found guilty, they should not be reft from Justice by strong hand. Such of the Nobility who feared and consequently hated him, finding how he had acquired the love of his People by his Piety in the observance of Religion, and his severity in executing Justice, were driven unto new Meditations. They began to suspect he would one day free himself from these turbulent Spirits who could not suffer him to enjoy a Peace, nor Reign. He had advanced at this time to Offices of State and Places men whose Fortunes did wholly depend upon his safety and well-fare: at which some Noblemen whose Ambition was to be in publick charge and of the Counsel, pretending to that out of right, which was only due unto them by favour, did highly storm and look upon those others with envious eyes. The King thus falling again into his old sickness, they bethought them how to renew their old remedy. They were also jealous of the remembrance of the dis-service they had done him, and that he would never forget old quarrels; They were prepared and ready to make a Revolution of the State, but had not yet found their Center to begin motion, nor a ground for Rebellion. All this while there was not matter enough for an Insurrection, nor to dispose the Peoples Hearts to a Mutiny.

The King delighted with his Buildings of the Castle of *Sterlin*, and the amenity of the Place, for he had raised there a fair and spacious Hall, and founded a Colledge for Divine Service, which he named the Chappel Royal: and beginning to be possest and taken up with the Religion of these times, endea-

voured to endow this Foundation with conſtant Rents, and ample Revenues, and make this Rock the choyce Sanctuary of his Devotions. The Priory of *Coldingham*, then vacant and fallen in his hands, he annexed the ſame to his Chappel Royal, and procured an Act of Parliament, That none of the Lieges ſhould attempt to do contrary to this Union and Annexation, or to make any Impetration thereof at the Court of *Rome* under the pain of Treaſon. The Priors of this Convent having been many years of the Name of *Hume*, it was by the Gentlemen of that Name ſurmis'd, that they ſhould be intereſted and wronged in their Eſtates, by reaſon of the Tithes and other Caſualties appertaining to this Benefice, if a Prior of any other Sirname were promoted to this Place. The King being often Petitioned and implored that he ſhould not alter the accuſtomed form of the Election of that Prior, nor remove it from their Name, nor ſuffer the Revenues to be otherways beſtowed than they were wont to be of old; and he continuing in his reſolution of annexing them to his Chappel: after long pawſing and deliberation amongſt themſelves, as men ſtirred up by the Male-contents and a proud Faction; fit for any the moſt dangerous enterpriſe, they proceed upon ſtronger Grounds to over-turn his intentions and divert his purpoſe. The Lord *Hailles*, and others of the Sirname of *Hepburn*, had been their conſtant Friends, Allies and Neighbours; with them they enter in a combination, that they ſhould mutually ſtand to the defence of others, and not ſuffer any Prior to be received for *Coldingham* if he were not of one of their two Sirnames. This Covenant is firſt privately by ſome mean Gentlemen ſworn, who after draw on their Chiefs to be of the Party. Of how ſmall beginnings doth a great miſchief ariſe! the Male-contented Lords knowing thoſe two

two Sirnames to be numerous, active and powerful in thoſe parts of the Country where they remain'd, lay hold upon this Overture, and beginning from their particulars they make the cauſe to be general. They ſpread Rumours abroad that the King was become terrible and not to be truſted; notwithſtanding all his Proteſtations and outward demeanour, that he yet meditated Revenge, and had begun to invade and ſhake the ancient Priviledges of the *Humes*, more out of ſpight and diſcontent againſt them for having aſſiſted and follow'd the Lords of the Reformation of the State, than any intention of the increaſing the Rents of his new erected Chappel. That ere long he would be avenged upon all whom he either knew were acceſſary, or ſuſpected to have been upon the Plot of *Lawder* Bridge, or his Committing in the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*. That it was ſometime better to commit a fault unpardonable, than venture under the Pardon. That the King had taken a Reſolution to live upon the Peoples contributions, and give his own Revenues to particular Men. The faults of his Counſellours are highly exaggerated. They are baſe Perſons, and he himſelf given to diſſimulation, miſdevotion and revenge; as occaſion ſerved he would remember old wrongs: It was good to obey a King but not to lay the head upon a Block to him, if a Man could ſave himſelf.

After long ſmother of diſcontent and hatred of the Nobility and People, Rankor breaking daily forth into Seditions and alterations, The Lord *Hume* and *Haylles* being the Ring-Leaders, many Noblemen and Gentlemen under fained pretences, eſpecially the courſes of ſwift Horſes, keep frequent meetings. Where they renew their Covenant agreed upon at *Lawder* Church, the neceſſity of the times, and the danger of the Commonwealth requiring it, and

gave their Oaths, that at what time ſoever the King ſhould challenge them directly or indirectly, or wrong them in their Rights, Poſſeſſions, Places, Perſons, They ſhould abide together as if they were all one Body, marry each others quarrels, and the wrongs done to any one of them ſhould be done to them all.

When the King underſtood the Confederacy of the Lords, to anticipate the danger, he made choice of a Guard for the preſervation of his Perſon and Servants, Of which he made *John Ramſay* of *Balmayne*, a Man whom he had preſerved at *Lawder* and advanced to be Maſter of his Houſhold at Court, Captain: giving him a Warrant not to ſuffer any Man in Arms approach the Court by ſome miles. This in ſtead of cooling, exaſperated the Choler of the Male-contents, and ſtirr'd them to aſſemble with numerous Retinues all in Arms. The King ſcarce believing the Minds of ſo many were corrupted, and perſuading himſelf, the Authority of a King would ſupply the want of ſome Power, ſummon'd certain of them upon fourty days to anſwer according to Law.

Of thoſe ſome rent, his Summons, and beat ſhamefully his Heraulds and Meſſengers for diſcharging their Offices: Others appeared, but with numbers of their Adherents, Friends, Allies and Vaſſals: And here he found that the faults of great Delinquents are not without great danger taken notice of, and reprehended; he uſed ſome Stratagems to ſurpriſe the Heads and Chiefs of their Faction: But unadviſedly giving truſt to the promiſes of thoſe who lent their ears, but not their hearts to his words, his Deſigns were diſcovered before they produced any effects; his ſecrets all laid open to his great hatred and diſadvantage, the Diſcoverers taking themſelves to the

factious

factious Rebels, and cheriſhing unkind thoughts in all whom they ſaw diſtaſted with his Government; Perceiving himſelf betrayed and his intentions divulged, he remained in great doubt to whom he ſhould give credit. The nature and manner of all things changed by the League of the Confederates, he thought it high time to remove a little further from that Torrent which might have overwhelmed him, and made them Maſters of his Perſon. To temporize and win time, cauſed furniſh the Caſtles of *Edenburgh* and *Sterling* with proviſion of Victual, Ammunition, and Garriſons to defend them from the dangers of War; he reſolved to make his abode beyond the River of *Forth*, and to leave the South Parts of the Kingdom. After which deliberation he entred a Ship of Sir *Andrew Wood* a famous Navigator and ſtout Commander at Sea) which pretended to make ſail for the low-Countries, and was lying at Anchor in the *Forth*. Theſe who ſaw him aboard, ſpread a rumour that he was flying to *Flanders*. The Lords of the Inſurrection making uſe of this falſe report ſeized on his carriage in the Paſſages towards the North, rifled his Coffers, ſpoiled his Servants of their ſtuff and baggage. And then after certainty that he was but Landed in *Fyfe*, and from that was in Progreſs to the Northern parts, preparing and directing his good Subjects to be in readineſs to attend him at his return, they ſurprized the Caſtle of *Dumbar*. The monys found in his Coffers wage Soldiers againſt him, and the Harneſs and Weapons of his Magazines arm them, Having gathered ſome companies together, tumultuouſly they overrun the Countries upon the South of the *Forth*, rifling and plundering all men who went not with them, or whom they ſuſpected not to favour their deſperate and ſeditious ends. In his progreſs the King held

Juſtice Courts at *Aberdeen* and *Innereſs*, where *William* Lord *Creighton*, not long before impeacht with the Duke of *Albany*, ſubmitted himſelf to his Clemency, and was received in favour and pardoned: after which grace he ſhortly left this World. Whilſt the King in the North, the Lords in the South are making their Preparations; When they were aſſembled at *Lithgow* they find themſelves many in number and ſtrong in Power; the ſucceſs of their proceedings being above their hopes: there only wanted a man eminently in eſteem with the People, and noble of Birth, to give luſtre to their Actions, ſhadow their Rebellion, and be the titular and painted head of their Arms. When they had long deliberated upon this great Man, they aſſented all that there was none to be Parrallel'd to the Prince of *Rothſay* the Kings own Son. So ſtrongly Providence befools all human Wiſdom and fore-ſight; his Keepers being corrupted by Gifts, Penſions and promiſes of divers Rewards, he is delivered into their hands: and by Threats, That they would otherwiſe give up the Kingdom to the King of *England*, he is conſtrained to go with them. To heighten the hatred againſt the King, and the cloſlier to deceive the People (for the love of Subjects is ſuch towards their natural Kings, that except they be firſt deceived by ſome pretences and notable ſophiſm, they will not ariſe altogether in Arms and Rebel) they make Proclamations and by their Deputies by way of Remonſtrances ſpread abroad Seditious Papers, in what a Sea of blood would theſe men launch into? that all true Subjects ſhould come in defence of the Prince, and take Arms; becauſe his Fathers jealouſies and ſuperſtitious fears were riſen to that height, that nothing but his Sons Death or Impriſonment could temperate them. That he was raiſing an Army to take his Son

out

out of their hands, that he might do with him as he had done with his own Brothers. That Force was the only means to work his ſafety and keep the Plotters of this miſchief within bounds, they alſo ſhould take Arms to reduce the Government to a better form, for that the Kingdom was oppreſſed with inſupportable grievances: the King being altogether given to follow the advice, projects and counſels of baſe men; to amaſs and gather great ſums of mony from his People, upon which he ſtudied to maintain his Court and State, and give away his own.

When the Engine was prepared for the People, and ſpread abroad, they ſent to the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, then cloſely as a Monk ſhut up in the Abby of *Lyndores*, to come out, be of the Party, and aſſiſt them with his Counſel and Friends, promiſing if their attempt had happy Succeſs, to reſtore him again to his ancient Poſſeſſions and Heritage, former Dignities, and the Places of Honour of his Anceſtors. The Earl, whom time and long experience had made wary and circumſpect, having a ſuſpicion the Earl of *Anguſs*, who poſſeſſed the greateſt part of his eſtate, had been the chief motioner of this liberty: and that rather to try what he would do, than that he minded really to ſet him free, refuſed to come out of his Cloiſter. And by his Letters diſſuaded them from their bold enterprize againſt their Prince; wiſhing they would ſet his houſe and himſelf for a pattern and Preſident of Rebellion. He ſent to all ſuch of his Friends whom his diſaſters had left unruined, to take arms for the King, as the *Dowglaſſes* of *Kayvers* and others.

The King neither loſing courage nor councel for the greatneſs of the danger of the Rebellion, truſting much to his good fortune, with ſuch Forces as came with him from the North, in Captain *Woods* Ships and other Boats and Veſſels prepared to that end,

paſſeth

paſſeth the *Forth* near the *Blackneſs*, an old Fortreſs and Sea-port in *Weſt Lothian*, not far from the Caſtle of *Abercorn*, and that place where the forces of the Earl of *Dowglaſs* left him, and the King his Father obtained ſo harmleſs a Victory. Before the arrival of the King at this Place, the Earls of *Montroſs*, *Glencarn* Lords *Maxwel* and *Ruthven* with others, advertiſed by Letters of the Rendevouz, hand come to the place, had encamped, and were attending him. And he muſtered a ſufficient Army to rencounter the Lords of the aſſociation, who from all quarters were aſſembled, having with them the Prince to add Authority to their quarrel. The two Armies being in readineſs to decide their indifferences by a Battle, the Earl of *Athol* the Kings Uncle ſo travailed between the Lords of either Party and the King, that a ſuſpenſion of Arms was agreed upon and reconcilement: and the Earl of *Athol* rendred himſelf a pledge for the accompliſhing of the Kings part of the reconcilement, to the Lord *Haylles*, and was ſent to be kept in the Caſtle of *Dumbar*.

This was not a ſmall fault of this Prince: the Confederates Forces were not at this time equal to his, neither had they eſſayed to hinder the Landing of his Army, being but in gathering; the Caſtle of *Blackneſs* was for his defence, and his Ships traverſing up and down the *Forth*, in caſe of neceſſity for ſuccour. That if he had hazarded a Battle, he had been near to have recovered all that reputation he had before loſt. Now upon either ſide ſome common Souldiers are disbanded, ſome Gentlemen licenſed to return to their own dwelling places. The King in a peaceable manner retireth to the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*. The Earl of *Athol* was now removed from him, and many of the other Lords who loved him returned to their houſes; the Counſel of Man

not

not being able to reſiſt the determinations of God. The Lords ſuſpecting ſtill the King to be implacable in their behalf and unacceptable in his Caſtle, keeping the Prince always with them, entring upon new Meditations hold ſundry meetings how to have his Perſon in their Power, and make him a Prey to their Ambitious deſigns. The Town of *Edenburgh* is peſtered with Troups of Armed Men, the Villages about repleniſhed with Souldiers. The King warned of his danger, fortifies of new the Caſtle of *Edenburgh* for his defence, and is brought to ſuch a tameneſs, that reſolving to do that with love of every Man, which he feared in end he ſhould be conſtrained unto with the univerſal hatred of all, and his own damage and danger, out of a paſſive Fortitude ſent Commiſſioners, indifferent Noblemen, to the Lords and his Son to underſtand their intentions and what they meant. Why his Son was kept from him, and continued the head of their Faction. Why his Uncle was ſo cloſely impriſon'd, and himſelf as it were, blocked up by their tumultuous meetings in Arms? He was content they ſhould have an abolition of all that was paſt, that their puniſhments ſhould not be infinitely extended, and that they ſhould think upon a general agreement after the beſt and fitteſt manner they could deviſe, and ſet it down. They finding their offences flew higher than hope of Pardon could aſcend unto. Their ſuſpitions, and the conſcience of their crime committed, breeding ſuch a diſtruſt out of an apprehenſion of fear, anſwered, that they found no true meaning. Open War was to be preferred to a peace full of deceit, danger, and fears, that being aſſured he would weave out his begun projects againſt them, they could not think of any ſafety, nor have aſſurance of their lives nor fortunes, unleſs he freely reſigned the Title of his Crown and Realm in favour

of

of his Son, and voluntarily depoſe himſelf, leaving the Government of the People and Kingdom to the Lords of his Parliament, diveſting himſelf wholly of his Royal dignity. Neither would they come to any ſubmiſſion or capitulation, until he conſented to this main point and granted it ſubmiſſively.

King *James* notwithſtanding of this anſwer, after a clear proſpect of the inconveniences and miſchiefs which were growing, and the many injuries, indignities, and affronts put upon him, yet really affecting a Peace, ſought unto *Henry* King of *England*, as alſo to the *Pope* and King of *France* to make an attonement between him and his Subjects. The Kings accordingly interpoſed their Mediation in a round and Princely manner, not only by way of requeſt and perſuaſion; but alſo by way of Proteſtation and menace, declaring that they thought it to be the common cauſe of all Kings, if Subjects ſhould be ſuffered to give Laws unto their Soveraign; a Legitimate King, though a Tyrant, was not ſubordinate to the Authority of *Subjects*. *James* was not a Tyrant; his errours proceeding moſt part from youth and evil counſel. That ſuppoſe the King had done them wrong, it was not wiſely done, for a deſire of revenge, to endanger their particular Eſtates, and the peace and ſtanding of the whole Kingdom. What State was there ever ſo pure, but ſome corruption might creep into it? That they ſhould be very cautious how they ſhook the Frame of *Monarchical* Government too far; That they would accordingly reſent and Revenge it. Rage prevailing againſt Reaſon and fears, the Lords made that ſame anſwer to theſe Embaſſadours which they had ſent to the King himſelf before. As for the *Popes* Embaſſie which was ſent by *Adrian de Caſtello*, an *Italian* Legate was coming, and the Lords fearing the danger of it, for in thoſe times

times it might have drawn the moſt part of all the Towns, and the Commons, for fear of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, to have adhered to the King, or ſtood in an indifferency, made all poſſible haſte before it ſhould have been delivered, to make Head againſt their Soveraign, and decide their Quarrel in a Battle; *Urban* the Fourth Armed *Henry* the Third King of *England* againſt all thoſe that would not return to their due and old obedience to him, and all his diſloyal Subjects.

The King was in a ſtrong *Fort*, and if he had remained ſtill there, matters in a little time had faln forth more to his wiſhes; and his Enemies might have been brought to a ſubmiſſion: for his good Subjects of the North, as the *Forbeſſes*, *Oguilbuyes*, the *Graunts*, *Frazeres*, *Meldrums*, many of the *Gordounes*, *Keethes*, and others who adhered to him out of affection and duty, were advancing towards him. But whether miſinformed or betrayed by ſome of his own, who made him believe, that unleſs he could command the Country about *Edenburgh*, the Caſtle was of no ſuch importance as was the Caſtle of *Sterlin* for him, in conſideration of the paſſage over the River of *Forth* at a Bridge for thoſe were coming to his Aid: The Lords of the Aſſociation counterfeiting a Retreat and diſperſing themſelves in the Country, that they might draw him from that Hold, he raſhly and unadviſedly iſſued out of the Caſtle and left his beloved Town of *Edenburgh*. The Earls of *Montroſs*, *Glencarn*, Lords *Maxwel* and *Ruthen* accompanied him to the *Blackneſs*; his Forces here encreaſing he marched towards *Sterlin*, the Rendevous and deſtinated Place of meeting for all his Loyal Subjects, there he diſplayed his Royal Standard. Here the perfidious Conſtable (an unparralleld example of ingratitude) who had betrayed the Son, in an Hoſtile manner

manner kept the Father out of his own Caſtle, Cannons mounted, Piſtols cockt, and level'd at him, and expoſed him a prey to his Rebels, In the amazement and deliberation what to go about, being thus ſhut out of his Caſtle, Tidings came to him, That the Confederates were come near to *Falkirk*, a little Town ſix miles Eaſtward from *Sterlin*, that his Army ſhould not be diſcouraged by this unexpected accident, truſting to his right and preſent Power; being more ſtout than prudent, he reſolveth to ſet all upon the hazard of a Battle. The Confederates had paſſed the *Carron*, a River under the *Falkirk*, and were encamped above the Bridge near the *Torwood:* The King ſet forwards with his Army upon the otherſide of the *Torwood*, near a ſmall brook named *Sawchy-Burn*. This field is a Plain not far diſtant from that *Bannoch-burn*, where King *Robert* the *Bruce* overthrew the great Army of *Edward Carnarvan*. Here both Armies advance forward in Battel array.

The Lords rang'd their Hoſt in three Squadrons; the Vanguard was led by the Lords *Hume* and *Hailles* and their friends conſiſting of Eaſt *Lothian* and *March-men*; The middle ward was compoſed of the *Liddeſdale*, *Annandale*, *Eweſdale*, *Tiviotdale*, *Tweddale*, *Galloway-men:* the main Battle was of Weſt *Lothian-men*, where moſt of the Lords were, and amongſt whom the Prince was kept. In the Kings Army the Earl of *Monteeth*, Lords *Aresken*, *Graham*, *Ruthen*, *Maxwel* commanded the Vanguard. The left wing which conſiſted of Weſtland and Highland men, was committed to the Earl of *Glencarn*. The Lords *Boyd*, *Lyndeſay* the Earl of *Crawford* commanded in the Rear or great Battel, amongſt whom was the King armed from head to foot upon a great Courſier, eaſie to be known and diſcern'd

diſcern'd from the reſt. The firſt Charge is valiantly given and Launce meeting with Launce, the Vanguard of the Lords began to yield ground, and was ſtrongly repulſed. But the next Charge being given by *Annandale* Men and the ranck Riders of the Borders, The middle ward of the Kings Army is beaten back to the main Battle; Notwithſtanding of which it is Fought a while with marvellous obſtination and great hardineſs and aſſurance, until the Standard Royal was beaten down, and thoſe who defended it were ſlain, the violence of the bickering being moſtly where it was planted. The Kings Army now beginning to bow, not being ſufficient to reſiſt the numbers of freſh Aſſailers, the Horſemen obeying no direction, turned their backs. In this rowt and confuſion of Horſe and Foot-men, the King ſeeking to retire towards the River of *Forth*, where not far off ſome Boats and the Ships of Sir *Andrew Wood* attended the fortune of Battel, by the fall of his Horſe, in leaping a Ditch, being ſore bruiſed, was carried by ſuch who knew him not, to a Mill at *Bannoch-Burn*. The day was now the Confederates, and wrong had prevailed againſt Right, when the Prince of *Rothſay* amazed at the noiſe and clamours of the flying and following Souldiers, and in ſuſpition of the worſt, gave out expreſs and ſtrait Commandment with threatnings to the Diſobeyers, that none ſhould preſume to purſue his Father, nor others in the Chaſe. Notwithſtanding which, he was followed and killed in a Mill in cold Blood. Theſe who followed him were the Lord *Gray*, *Robert Sterling* of *Keer*, Sir *Andrew Borthick* a Prieſt, whom Fame reporteth after ſhriving to have ſtobb'd him with a Dagger.

The Enſigns taken, the Army diſſipated and put to flight, the Baggage rifled, the Death of the King being

being rumoured through the Armies, the Victors turned ſlow in the chaſe, and gave field-room to all that would fly, no ſeverity being uſed againſt any found unarm'd; for the Lords of the Aſſociation purſu'd the King not the People. The diſcomfited fled towards *Sterlin*; the victorious retir'd to their Camp, and the next morning to *Linlithgow*. On the Kings ſide *Alexander Cunningham* Earl of *Glencarn* was ſlain, and as ſome have Recorded, the Lords *Areskin*, *Simple*, *Ruthven*, *John Ramſey* of *Balmayn* created Earl of *Bothwell*, and his chief favourite, with their friends and Vaſſals: the Laird of *Inneys*, *Alexander Scot* Director of the Chancery, with ſome Noblemens Friends and Vaſſals: many were hurt who recovered of their wounds, and this Battle ſeem'd rather a brave encounter and meeting of Launces in ſome Liſts, than a Field of great deeds of Arms, and the Victory was obtained rather by diſorder, and the raſhneſs of the Vanquiſhed than by the Valour of the Victorious. This Battle was Fought the year One thouſand four hundred eighty eight, the Eleventh day of *June*, which is the Feſtival of St. *Barnabas*, the Twenty ninth year of the Reign, and thirty five of the Age of this King. He had iſſue *James* the Fourth who ſucceeded, *Alexander* Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews*, and *John* Earl of *Marr*: The Conſpirators with all funeral Rites and Royal Pomp, as in expiation of the wrongs they had done him living, near his Queen in the Abby Church of *Cambuskynneth*, buried his body.

This King concerning his perſonage was of a Stature higher than ordinary, well proportioned, his hair was black, his viſage was rather long than round, approaching in colour more to thoſe in the Southern than Northern Climates. Concerning his conditions, He was a Prince of an haughty and towring Spirit,

Spirit, loved to govern alone, affecting an absolute Power and Royal Perogative over his People. He knew that Noblemen were of his Predecessours making, as the coyn, and why he might not put his stamp upon the same mettal, or when these old Medals were defaced, that he might not refound them and give them a new Print, he thought no sufficient reason could be given. His Reign seemeth a Theater spread over with mourning and stain'd with Blood, where in a Revolution many Tragedies were acted. Neither were the neighbour Kingdoms about in a calmer estate during his Reign. *France* under *Louys* the Eleventh, *England* under *Henry* the *Sixth*, *Edward* the Fourth, and *Richard* the Usurper, *Flanders* and *Holland* under *Charles* the War-like; *Arnold* Duke of *Guilders* was imprisoned by his own Son.

As if the heavenly Influences were sometimes all together set to produce upon this Ball of the Earth nothing but Conspiracies, Treasons, Troubles, and for the wickedness of the Inhabitants to deprive them of all rest, and contentment.

This King is by the most condemned, as a rash, imprudent dangerous Prince: good People make good Kings; when a People run directly to oppose the Authority of their Soveraign, and assume Rebellion and arrogancy for obedience, resisting his fairest motions and most profitable commandments, if a King be Martial, in a short time they are beaten and brought under. If he be politick, prudent and foreseeing in a longer time (as wild Dear) they are surprized and either brought back to their first order and condition, or thrall'd to greater miseries. If he be weak and suffer in his Reputation or State or Person by them, the Prince who succeedeth is ordinarily the Revenger of his wrongs. And all Conspiracies of Subjects if they prosper not in a high degree,

advance the Soveraignty: This Prince ſeemeth not to have been naturally evil inclined, but to have been conſtrained to leave his natural inclination and neceſſitate to run upon Precipices and dangers: his turbulent Subjects never ſuffering him to have reſt. Many Princes who in the beginning of their Reigns have been admired for their fair Actions, by the ingratitude of their Subjects, have turn'd from one extremity to another, and become their rebellious Subjects executioners. He was provoked to do many things by the inſolency of private men: and what ſome call Tyranny and fierceneſs in a Prince, is but juſt ſeverity. He ſought to be feared, believing it to be the only way to obedience. It is true, injuries took ſuch deep impreſſion in his mind, that no after ſervice could blot them away. The taking away of his Favourites, made him ſtudy revenge, which if he had not done, he had to much of the *Stoical* vertues, little of the *Heroical*

Theſe who blame Princes, under a pure and abſolute Monarchy for having Favourites, would have them inhumane, baſe and contemptible, and would deprive them of Power to confer favours according to the diſtinguiſhing power of their underſtanding and conceptions. The choice a Prince maketh of men whom he advanceth to great imployments, is not ſubject to any mans cenſure. And were it bad, yet ought it to be paſs'd over, if not approv'd; leaſt the diſcretion and judgment of the Prince be queſtioned, and his Reputation wounded: Favourites are ſhrines to ſhaddow Princes from their People. Why ſhould a people not allow a Prince ſome to whom he may unmask himſelf, and diſcover the ſecrets of his Heart? If his ſecrets ſhould be imparted to many, they would be no longer ſecrets? Why ſhould it be impoſed on a Prince to love all his Subjects alike, ſince he is not

beloved

beloved of them all alike? This is a desire to tyrannize over the affections of Princes, whom men should reverence.

He seemeth too much to have delighted in retiredness, and to have been a hater of business; nor that he troubled himself with any but for formalities sake, more desirous of quietness than Honour. This was the fault of the Governours of his youth, who put him off business of State, that they might the more easily reach their own ends, and by making him their shadow, govern after their pleasure; Of this delight in solitariness his Brothers took their advantage and wan the people to their observance.

He was much given to Buildings and trimming up of Chappels, Halls, and Gardens, as usually are the lovers of Idleness: and the rarest frames of Churches and Pallaces in *Scotland* were mostly raised about his time. An humour which though it be allowable in men which have not much to do, yet it is harmful in Princes; As to be taken with admiration of Watches, Clocks, Dyals, Automates, Pictures, Statues. For the Art of Princes is to give Laws and govern their people with wisdom in peace, and glory in war; to spare the humble and prostrate the proud.

He is blam'd of Avarice, yet there is no great matters Recorded of it, save the encroaching upon the dealing, and taking the giving to whom he pleased, of Church Benefices; which if he had liv'd in our times, would have been held a vertue. He was of a credulous Disposition, and therefore easie to be abused, which hath moved some to Record he was given to Divination and to inquire of future accidents: which if it be credible was the fault of those times. *Edward* the Fourth of *England* is said to have had that same fault, and that by the misinterpretation of a Prophecy of a Necromancer, which foretold that one,

the firſt Letter of whoſe name was G. ſhould Uſurp the Kingdom, and diſpoſſeſs the Children of King *Edward*, he took away his Brother *George* Duke of *Clarence*; which being really practiſed in *England*, ſome *Scottiſh* Writers (that a King of *Scotland* ſhould not be inferiour, to any of his Neighbour Princes in wickedneſs) without grounds have recorded the ſame to have been done by this King, his love was great to learned men, he uſed as Counſellors in his important affairs *John Ireland* a Doctour of Divinity, and one of the *Sorbon* in *Paris*, made Archdeacon of St. *Andrews*, Mr. *Robert Blackadore*, whom he promoted to be Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, Mr. *William Elphinſtoun*, whom of an Official or Commiſſary of *Lothian*, he ſurrogated in the place of Mr. *Robert Blackadore*, and made Biſhop of *Aberdeen*; and his faults either in Religion or Policy may be attributed to theſe and his other Counſellours.

Many have thought that the fatal Chariot of his Precipice was, that he had equally offended Kindred, Clergy, Nobility and People. But ſuppoſe this had been true, why ſhould ſuch an horrible miſchief have been deviſed, as to arm his own Son againſt him? and that neither the fear of Divine Juſtice, the reſpect of Infamy with the preſent or after times, the danger of the example, had power to divert the minds of men from ſuch a cruel Deſign! This was really to ſeeth the Kid in the Mothers milk, and to make an innocent youth obnoxious to the moſt hainous Crime that could be committed. Whatever courtains could be ſpread to overſhadow and cover this miſchief, the horrour of this Fact poſſeſt this Prince to his laſt hour, and God out of his Juſtice executed the revenge of his cruelty upon the Nobles

bles, Commons, and the Prince himſelf at the field of *Flowden*: where ſome of the chief Actors of this Paricide were in their own perſons, others in the perſons of their Succeſſors, ſacrificed to the Ghoſt of this King.



Iames. III. king of Scotts
Anō 1488.

THE HISTORY Of the LIFE and Reign of James the Fourth, KING of SCOTLAND.

THE Lords who had choſen rather to be reputed famous Rebe ls than contemn'd Subjects, by their boldneſs of enterprizing, skill of managing the Publick affairs, and continued purchaſes, ſwelling to that greatneſs of Power, that they found none to counterpoiſe few to oppoſe to their Deſigns; to make their Rebellion lawful, and ſhow the World they intended not the Subverſion of their Country, but of their opinionative King, nor that they did diſlike Soveraignity, ſo they might have a Prince who would be ruled by their directions, take the name, and leave to them the Majeſty and Authority of his place: after the killing of the Father, call a Parliament for the inſtalling of the Son in the Royal Throne; few of the three Eſtates here meeting, except themſelves and the Commiſſioners of Burroughs, in the Month of *June* the year One thouſand four hundred eighty eight

at *Edenburgh* the Prince is Crowned, then having not attained the ſixteenth year of his age. Though theſe men had aſſumed the Government, yet in divers parts of the Country they had but doubtful obedience, nor was their Authority univerſally acknowledged, the flames of diſſention ſeeming yet neither to be extinguiſhed, nor altogether ſmothered with the Life of the late King. On the Sea Sir *Andrew Wood*, who had attended the event of the laſt Battle, maintained reſolutely the Quarrel of his dead Maſter. Five tall Ships ſent by the King of *England* to his Confederates aid (but which came too late) pretending a revenge upon his diſloyal Subjects, pillaged the Maritime Towns, and forraged the adjacent parts of the Country, ſhut up the mouth of the River of *Forth*, and interrupted the Commerce of Merchants. To repel which violence, the Ships gathered by the Lords ſtruggled in vain, being every way inferiour and weak to ſuppreſs their incurſions and Algarards. On the Land the Forces of thoſe who had ſtood out for the late King had rather been by the laſt conflict ſcatter'd, than throughly broken and brought under. The ableſt and moſt convenient Companies which were gathered to his Aſſiſtance, having never aſſembled and joyned in one body, the Fight being inconſideratly precipitated and the Dye thrown, before they could deſcend from the far Mountains, and croſs the Ford-leſs Rivers; And of thoſe who were in the Fray not many being taken Priſoners, fewer killed, falling under the weight of friendly Arms.

The prime Men of thoſe who had choſen rather juſtly to follow the King, than profitably his Rebels, finding themſelves, for their loyalty, and that good will which they had carryed to their Soveraign, perſecuted and proſcrib'd in their Fortunes and Perſons

ſons, inflamed with indignation and ſhame reſolved to oppoſe Wiſdom to Fortune, Courage to Strength, and hazard ſome one day more for the repairing the loſſes of former: the Pillage begun upon the Seas by the *Engliſh* animating them. And being deſirous to make as many fellows of their danger as they could, they ſend Letters throughout all the quarters of the Kingdom to their Friends, Familiars, and Confederates, encouraging them to ply the buſineſs generouſly, oppoſing their valour and courage to the ſtrength and power of the abuſers of the Prince. By publick Writings they caſt aſperſions on the preſent Government. After that Battel of *Sterlin*, and ſince the Coronation of the King they had not fallen in the power of a Monarch, but under an *Oligarchy*, the moſt depraved from all Governments, the name and Title of a King a young man ſcarce ſixteen years of Age enjoyed, but he Govern'd not, but was by the Killers of his Father miſgoverned, who under falſe pretences intended the ruin of the State. *What reproach and ſhame would it be not only with all men now living but alſo with Poſterity to ſuffer theſe who had hazarded what they had deareſt for the honour and preſervation of their Prince, to be branded with the name of Traytors, be baniſhed and followed to death. Whilſt the Tranſgreſſors and abuſers of all Laws, Divine and Humane, ſit Judges over them, as revengers of general Wrongs, uſurping the Titles of Deliverers of the Country, and Reſtorers of the Commonwealth, amongſt whoſe Paws the preſent King could not be aſſured and ſafe, They being the men who to juſtifie their injuſtice, and make their Fact meritorious, brought him in Arms, not knowing whether, againſt his King and Father, moſt wofully taken away: beſides the abuſing of his Name and Authority in every civil matter. The late King*

had

had loſt the day and himſelf by his own Errors, not by their Power and Deſigns. Now they ſhould oppoſe to their proceedings, and though they might be eſteemed inferiour in number to them, yet (if they met together) they might be found equal to them in worth and courage, being puft up by the laſt misfortune, and only putting their confidence in that they maſtered their Deſigns.

Much being projected and deſigned for their meeting in Arms, in the North *Alexander* Lord *Forbeſs*, a Man born neither to reſt himſelf, nor ſuffer others, in *Aberdeen*, and other Towns on the point of a Launce diſplayed the Shirt of the ſlaughtered King purpled with his blood, inviting the Country as by an Herald to the revenge of his Murther. In the Weſt the Earl of *Lenox*, a man eminent by his Birth and Fortunes hath the ſame reſolution; the Earl of *Marſhal*, Lords *Gordon* and *Lyle*, with their Confederates in other parts of the Kingdom, where their power or eloquence could prevail, move all their Engins to advance the enterprize, and put every thing in readineſs.

The Lords of the inſurrection having the young King in their hands to countenance their proceedings, joyning diſcretion to their good ſucceſs, determine except upon neceſſity not to ſpill more civil blood. And to diſperſe the Clouds of that appearing Storm, they encourage Sir *Andrew Wood*, now received in favour and brought not only to be an enemy, but to be their friend and fellow-helper (having obtained from them the Barony of *Largow*, diſpoſed to him hereditarily of which before he had only a Leaſe of the late King for his firſt Service) with his Ships to clear the *Forth*, and ſcour the Seas of the *Engliſh*. And they Launch out to his aſſiſtance the Veſſels and Boats of the Havens near adjacent. At that ſame time

time *John* Lord *Drummond Stuart* of *Strathern*, a Nobleman, couragious and adventurous, is directed to wait upon the Earl of *Lennox*, ſtopt his ravaging and waſting the Country, and kept him back from joyning with his Confederates of the *North*, and infeſting the more civil parts: being the greateſt, ableſt and neareſt Man of that Faction. The Earl had raiſed many High-land and Weſt-land Men, Recorded to be Two thouſand; but when he could not paſs the River of *Forth* at the Bridg of *Sterlin*, the Lords having inveſted the Town, he aſſayeth to paſs among the Fens and Marſhes at a Ford not far from the head of the River, where other his Confederates had appointed to meet him. Whilſt he is encamped at *Tilly-moſs*, far from all appearance or ſuſpicion of danger, the Lord *Drummond* by the advertiſement of *Alexander Mackealp* (who had taken Arms with the Earl only to find out his ways) in the Night invadeth his Camp, the Sentinels and theſe of the foremoſt Guard ſeized upon, or killed, or driven back, they in the neareſt Cabines amazed with the ſudden miſchief, riſe to Arm themſelves and think of Fight, but finding the danger to be on all ſides, and thorough the whole Camp, neither ſeeing before them, nor hearing any directions given them for the great noiſe of the Invaders, it being impoſſible to put themſelves in array, confuſedly each overthrowing other take themſelves to hopeleſs and diſordered flight. Sleep here to ſome is continued in death, many disburthened themſelves of their Arms, ſeek Sanctuary amongſt the winding paths of theſe Marſhes. Others are taken, but by their acquaintance and friends ſuffered after to eſcape. Revenge is only followed againſt ſuch who in malice had enterprized any thing againſt the preſent Government, and perſevered in their attempts.

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This defeat of the Earl of *Lennox* by the Lord *Drummond*, is ſeconded with the rumour of a Sea Victory obtained by Sir *Andrew Wood* againſt *Stephen Bull*, a man excelling in Maritime Affairs, who had come upon the *Scottiſh* Seas to revenge the quarrel of his Maſters Ships not long before taken and ſpoiled by Sir *Andrew*. They had met near the Iſland of the *May*, at the mouth of the River of *Forth*, and arraging themſelves for Fight, had been two days by the Waves and Winds carryed along the Coaſt of *Fife*, driven at laſt amongſt the Mounts of Sand where the *Tay* loſeth his name in the Sea, the *Engliſh* Ships taller, and of a greater burthen than the *Scottiſh* by ignorance or negligence of their Mariners embarqued, and ſtuck moor'd upon the Shelves: and being forc'd by neceſſity to render were brought as Prizes to *Dundee*: The rumour of theſe Victories ſpread abroad, ſo amaz'd the Companies raiſed in the North by the Lord *Forbeſs*, and other his Confederates, that they, changing their opinions with the event of Actions, gave over further proſecution or deſire of War, and every Man retired to his own home. After which by indifferent friends having ſought a reconciliation (it being more expedient to take them in by Policy than by Force) they were eaſily received in favour; amongſt which was the Earl of *Lennox* and the Lord *Forbeſs*.

The Governours to ingratiate themſelves more with the People, by calming the preſent Troubles, and uniting the divided members of the Commonwealth; that every man might have a publick aſſurance for the freedom of his Perſon and private eſtate and fortunes, call a Parliament, and it is held at *Edenburgh* in *February*, having the Law in their own hands, that the Inſurrection might be thought juſt;

here

here was it adjudged that thoſe who were ſlain in the field of *Sterlin* had fallen by their own deſervings, and juſtly ſuffered the puniſhment of their raſhneſs: that the Victors were innocently guiltleſs of the blood there ſhed, and fairly acquitted of any purſuit: The three Eſtates teſtifying the ſame by their ſubſcriptions and Signets.

It was Ordained, *That they who came againſt the preſent King in aid of his Father, ſhould take Remiſſions or Pardons: and ſo many of them as were in Hereditary Offices, as Wardens, Juſtices, Sheriffs, Stewards, Bailyes, Lieutenants, or in other publick Charges, ſhould be ſuſpended from them for the ſpace of three years, that ſuch who had offices for term of life, or for terms, ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed and denuded of them altogether.*

All which, though done under a colour of Puniſhment, was only to inveſt Places, and to turn ſome of themſelves rich by their ſpoils. The puniſhment of mean Men challenged of theſe garboyls is either made little or paſſed over. All Donations howſoever made by Patent from the King or by Parliaments in prejudice of the Crown, beginning from the month of *September* before, till the day of his deceaſe are repelled and annihilated. All honours beſtowed on ſuch the late King ſought to oblige unto him were recalled. The Earl of *Crawford* was diveſted of his title of being Duke of *Montroſs*, as the Lord of *Balmayn* was of his, of being Earl of *Bothwell*. Embaſſadours are directed to the *Emperour*, *Pope*, Kings of *France* and *Denmark*, and other Princes, to renew the Leagues, ancient Confederacies and Allyances, as in times paſt had been the cuſtom of the Kings of *Scotland* to their neighbour Princes, but eſpecially to take away the blame of their Kings ſlaughter from the Governours: and manifeſt

manifeſt to all the World the candor of their Minds, and juſtice of their proceedings. For that ſome few *Engliſh* Ships had ſhut up the narrow Seas of *Scotland*, and interrupted the Commerce of Merchants, pillaging the Coaſts, Order was eſtabliſhed for building of many Ships, and that every Seaport ſhould be ſtored with them, as well to maintain traffick abroad with Strangers, as for Fiſhing, and to be Walls to the Country at home. In a matter ſo important, and near concerning the Weal and ſtanding of the State, the Barons were ordained to ſhare and bear a part with the Merchants and Burroughs. And in ſo fair a project, to encourage his people, the King himſelf was content firſt to begin, and to build Ships for his own and the Publick Service of the Kingdom. This being one of the greateſt miſeries of the late King, that he ſuffered himſelf to be miſgovern'd by (as they term'd them) worthleſs men, ſome Prelates and Noblemen eminent in Learning and Vertue are ſelected who ſhould ſtill be reſident with the King, and of his Council without the advice, conſent and decree of ſix of which, if any matters of importance were proceeded on and concluded, they ſhould be void and null: Governours are appointed to bring up his Brothers.

Now is every thing ordered to the beſt, Juſtice is executed on oppreſſours and Robbers, and in the remoteſt parts of the Kingdom, the King himſelf in perſon ſeeth it adminiſtred: He is of ſo contrary a temper to the humour of his Predeceſſours that he granted freely to every man what could be demanded in reaſon. To give a teſtimony to the world of the Agonie of his Mind, for the death of his Father, and what remorſe and anguiſh he ſuffered for the faults of thoſe who brought him to the Field againſt him, he girded himſelf with a chain of Iron, to

which

which every third year of his Life thereafter he added ſome rings and weight. Though this might have proved terrible to the Complices of the Crime, yet either out of Conſcience of his gentle diſpoſition and mild nature, and confidence in his generoſity, or of the truſt they had in their own Power and Faction, they bewrayed no ſigns of fear, nor attempted ought againſt the common peace and tranquillity, ſome Records bear that they forewarned him by the example of his Father not to take any violent courſe againſt them, or which might irritate the people againſt him and every thing to embrace their counſels: and that finding him repining and ſtubborn, beyond mediocrity giving himſelf over to Sorrow and penſiveneſs, they threatned him with a Coronation of one of his Brothers, telling him it was in their power to make any of the Race of his Predeceſſors their King; if he were head-ſtrong and refractory to oppoſe to their wholſom directions and grave Counſels.

Amidſt this grief of the King and overweaning of his ſupercilious Governours *Andrew Forman* Secretary to *Alexander* the Sixth Biſhop of *Rome* arrived in *Scotland* with inſtructions for the Clergy, and Letters from his Maſter to the *King* and the *Nobles.*

The King's were full of ordinary conſolations to aſſwage his Paſſions, and reduce his mind to a more calm temper for the accident of his Fathers Death.

The moſt glorious victory a Prince could acquire, was ſometimes to overcome himſelf, and triumph over his diſordered paſſions. In all perturbations to which we are ſubject, we ſhould endeavour to practiſe that precept, No thing too much, *but chiefly in our paſſions of ſorrow and wrath: which not being reſtrained*

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over-whelm the greateſt and moſt generous Minds, that by paſſion the feweſt actions, and by reaſon the moſt do proſper.

Though a King, he muſt not imagine himſelf exempt from things caſual to all mankind, eſpecially in Seditions and civil tumults: from which no kingdom nor State hath been free. There being no City which hath not ſometimes wicked Citizens, and always and ever an headſtrong and mad multitude; he ſhould take what had befaln him from the hand of his Maker, who chaſtiſeth thoſe he loveth. What comes from heaven he ſhould bear neceſſarily, what proceedeth from Men couragiouſly; there was no man ſo ſafe, excellent and tranſcendent, who by an inſolent Nobility and ravaging Populacy might not be compell'd to perpetrate many things againſt his heart and intentions.

The will being both the beginning and ſubject of all ſin, and the conſenting to and allowing the action being the only and main point to be conſidered and lookt into, of which he was free, the ſin committed was not his, nor could the puniſhment which by the Divine Juſtice might follow belong unto him.

Sith he had done nothing of himſelf, but as a bound man had been carryed away by mutinous Subjects: theſe that lead tranſgreſs, not always they that follow. To theſe men remorſe and torture of conſcience belong'd, it was they ſhould lament and mourn who under falſe pretences had abuſed the people, maskt their ambition and Malice with a Reformation of errours in the State, whoſe Rage could not be quench't but by the Bloud of their Soveraign. It was theſe ſhould bewail their injuſtice and cruelty, the ſin, ſhame, and judgment, for ſo hainous a Fact, followed theſe men; He ſhould not impute the wrongs and wickedneſs of others, by which he had been a ſufferer with his diſaſtered Father,

Father, to himself. Revenge belonged to the Almighty, to whose Tribunal he should submit his quarrel. He should not decree the worst against his mutinous Subjects, nor turn them desperate, as if there were no place to Repent. Great offences, ordinarily were seldom punisht in a State, that it was profitable for a Prince sometimes to put up voluntarily an injury, the way to be invincible was never to contend, and to stand out of danger was the benefit of Peace, that he should apply soft Medicine where it was dangerous to use violent; That following his Maker he should endeavour to draw good out of evil.

As he was for that disaster of his Father pittied by Men upon Earth, so assuredly he would be pardon'd in Heaven. If his Subjects returned to their crooked Byas and did revolt again, he would make the danger his own, use his Ecclesiastical Censures, and Spiritual Power against them till they became obedient, and submitted themselves to the sway of his Scepter.

In the Letters to the Nobles he exhorteth them to obedience.

Ambition was the cause of Sedition, which had no limits, and which was the bane and wrack of State and Kingdoms of which they should beware of; Kingdoms subsisting upon the reputation of a Prince, and that respect his Subjects carryed towards him. He was the Eye and Sun of Justice; the Prince weakned or taken away, or his Authority contemned, the Commonwealth would not only fall into a Decadence, but suffer an Earthquake and perish. Either after by Forrainers be invaded, or by intestine dissentions rent asunder. Confusions followed where obedience ceased and left: Contempt deposed Kings as well as

death, and Kings are no longer Kings when their Subjects refuſe to obey them.

That good people made good Kings, which he requeſted them to endeavour to be, as they would anſwer to God whoſe Lieutenants Princes were, and by whoſe power they ruled.

After this time, the Lord *Evaindale* being dead, the Earl of *Anguſs*, was made Chancellour, and the Lord *Hume*, obtained the place of great Chamberlain of *Scotland*, the Country enjoyed a great calm of Peace, the grounds of Diſſention ſeeming to be taken away.

The King in the ſtrength and vigour of his Youth, remembring that to live in Idleneſs was to live to be contemned by the World, by change of Objects to expel his preſent ſadneſs and to enable himſelf for Wars when they ſhould burſt forth, gave himſelf to recreations by Games, and with a decent Pomp entertained all Knightly exerciſes keeping an open and Magnificent Court. When time and Exerciſe had enabled him, and he thought he had attained to ſome perfection in Martial ſports, Tilting and Barriers proclaimed; Rewards propounded and promiſed to the Victors, Challenges are ſent abroad unto Strangers either to be Umpires or Actors of Feats of Arms.

Charles the Eight the *French* King, having an Ambition to reannex, the Dutchy of *French Bretaign* to the Crown of *France*, either by Arms or the Marriage of *Ann* the apparent heir, under the pretext and ſhadow of thoſe painted Juſtings, ſendeth to *Scotland* ſome of the braveſt Gentlemen of his Court, deſiring privily the aſſiſtance of King *James* againſt the *Engliſh*, if it ſhould fall forth that the King of *England* troubled his Deſigns.

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Not long after well and honourably accompanied arriveth in *Scotland* a young man, naming himself *Richard* Duke of *York* Son to *Edward* the Fourth, true Inheritor of the Crown of *England*, divers Neighbour Princes testifying the same by the Letters, which contained,

That Edward *the eldest Son of* Edward *the Fourth who succeeded his Father in the Crown, by the Name of* Edward *the Fifth, was Murthered by* Richard *Duke of* Glouceſter *their unnatural Uncle*; *but* Richard *the younger Son his Brother, by the Man who was employed to execute that Tragedy* (*making report to the Tyrant that he had performed his command for both Brethren*) *was ſaved, and with ſpeed and ſecrecy convoyed to* Tourney, *there conceal'd and brought up by his Fathers Siſter* Margarite *Dutcheſs of* Burgundy; *That King* James *ſhould acknowledge this for Truth, and friendly aſſiſt this young Man, who was that very* Richard *Duke of* York, *to recover his Inheritance, now moſt unjuſtly Uſurped and Poſſeſſed by* Henry Tuder *Earl of* Richmond; *That the right of Kings extended not only to the ſafe preſervation of their own, but alſo to the Aid of all ſuch Allies, as change of time and State have often hurled down from Crowns to undergo an exerciſe of ſufference in both fortunes: and Kings ſhould repoſſeſs Kings wrongfully put from their own. As his Predeceſſors to whoſe royal vertues he was heir, had repoſſeſſed* Henry *the Sixth King of* England, *ſpoyled of his Kingdom and diſtreſſed, by which Charity obliging all vertuous Princes unto him, he ſhould find ever as his own,* Maximilian *of* Bohemia, Charles *of* France, *and* Margarite *Dutcheſs* Dowager *of* Burgundy.

King *James* graciouſly receiving this young man, told him, *That whatſoever he were, he ſhould not repent him of putting himſelf into his hands*, and

from that time forth, though many gave Informations againſt him as a counterfeit, entertained him every way as a Prince, embraced his quarrel, and ſeiling both his own eyes, and the eyes of the World, he gave conſent that this Duke ſhould take to Wife Lady *Katherine Gordoun* daughter to the Earl of *Huntley*, which ſome thought he did to increaſe the Factions of *Perkins* in *England*, ſtir the diſcontented Subjects againſt King *Henry*, and to encourage his own Subjects to ſide on his quarrel.

Not long after in perſon with this Duke of *York* in his Company, who aſſured him of powerful Aſſiſtance, he entred with an Army into *Northumberland*, but not one Man coming to ſide with them, the King turned his enterprize into a Road, and after he had ſpoiled the Country returned to *Scotland*. It is ſaid, that *Perkin* acting the part of a Prince handſomely, where he ſaw the *Scots* pillaging and waſting of the Country came to the King, and in a deplorable manner requeſted him to ſpare his afflicted people, that no Crown was ſo dear to his Mind, as that he deſired to purchaſe it with the blood and ruine of his People: whereunto King *James* anſwered, He was ridiculouſly careful of an intereſt another man poſſeſſed, and which perhaps was none of his. The King of *England* who delighted more to draw treaſure from his People than to hazard the ſpilling of their Blood, to revenge the predatory war of the *Scots*, and find out *Perkin*, tequireth a ſubſidy of his Subjects: and though few believed he would follow ſo far a flying Hart, he was Levying a puiſſant Army.

No ſooner this Subſidy began to be collected amongſt the *Corniſh*-men when they began to grudge and murmur, aud afterwards rebelled; which when it was underſtood of the King, he retained the Forces raiſed, for his own ſervice and uſe. In the mean time

time diſpatching the Earl of *Surrey* to the *North* to attend the *Scots* incurſions, whilſt the *Corniſhmen* are in their March towards *London*, King *James* again entred the Frontiers of *England* with an Army and beſieged the Caſtle of *Norham* in perſon. But underſtanding the Earl of *Surrey* was advancing with greater Forces, loaden with ſpoil he returned back again; the Earl of *Surrey* finding no Enemy, ſat down before the Caſtle of *Aytoun*, which he took, and ſoon after returned into *England*; the cold ſeaſon of the year, with the unſeaſonableneſs of the weather driving away time, invited a Treaty of Peace on both ſides.

Amidſt theſe turmoyls and unprofitable Incurſions of the two Kingdoms, *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella* of *Spain* ſent one *Peter Hialas* to treat a Marriage between *Katherine* one of their Daughters, and *Arthur* Prince of *Wales*. This Allyance being agreed upon, and almoſt brought to perfection, King *Henry* deſirous of quietneſs, and to have an end of all Debates, eſpecially theſe with *Scotland*, communicateth his intentions to *Hialas* a man wiſe and learned, and whom he thought able to be employed in ſuch a Service: for it ſtood not with his Reputation to ſue unto his enemy for Peace.

But *Hialas* a ſtranger unto both, as having direction from his Maſter for the Peace of Chriſtian and Neighbour Princes, might take upon him this Reconciliation.

Hialas accepteth the Embaſſage, and coming to King *James*, after he had brought him to hearken to more ſafe and quiet Counſels, wrote unto King *Henry*, *That he hoped that Peace might eaſily be concluded, if he ſhould ſend ſome wiſe and temperate Councellour of his own, that might treat of the Conditions.*

Whereupon the King directeth the Biſhop of *Dureſm*, *Richard Fox*, who at that time was at his Caſtle of *Norham*, to confer with *Hialas*, and they both to treat with ſome Commiſſioners deputed from King *James*. The Commiſſioners of both ſides meet at *Jedbrough*, and diſpute many Articles and conditions of Peace. Reſtitution of the ſpoils taken by the *Scottiſh*, or dammages for the ſame is deſired: but that was paſſed as a matter impoſſible to be performed. An enterview in perſon at *Newcaſtle* is deſired of both Kings: which being referred to King *James* his own arbitrement, he is reported to have anſwered that he meant to treat a Peace, and not go a begging for it.

The breaking of the Peace for *Perkin Warbeck* is highly aggravated by the Biſhop, and he demanded to be deliver'd to the King of *England*; *That a Prince ſhould not eaſily believe with the common people, that* Perkin *was a Fiction, and ſuch an one that if a Poet had projected the Figure. it could not have been done more to admiration, than the Houſe of* York *by the old Dutcheſs of* Burgundy, *Siſter to* Edward *the Fourth, having firſt raiſed* Lambert Simnel, *and at laſt this* Perkin, *to perſonate Kings and ſeduce the People. His Birth, Education, not reſident in any one place, proved him a Pageant King, that he was a reproach to all Kings, and a perſon not protected by the Law of Nations.*

The Biſhop of *Glaſgow* anſwered for his Maſter, *That the love and Amity grounded upon a Common cauſe and univerſal Concluſion amongſt Kings to defend one another, was the main Foundation upon which King* James *had adventured to aſſiſt* Edward *Duke of* York, *that he was no competent Judge of his Title; he had received him as a Suppliant, protected him as a Perſon fled for refuge, eſpouſed him with his*

his Kinſwoman, and aided him with Arms upon the belief that he was a Prince; that the People of Ireland, Wales, *and many in* England *acknowledged him no leſs than their King, whether he was ſo or not; ſith for a Prince he had hitherto defended him, he could not leave him upon the Relation of his moſt terrible enemy, and the preſent Poſſeſſour of his Crown. That no Prince was bound to render a Subject to another who had come to him for Sanctuary, leſs a Prince who had recourſe unto him for Aid and Supply, and was now allayed with the ancient blood of the Countrey.*

Much being ſaid at laſt they conclude upon a truce for ſome months following.

After this treaty of Peace the Counterfeit Duke of *York*, with his Lady, and ſuch Followers as would not leave him, ſailed over into *Ireland.*

This Truce, happily concluded and continued, by a trifling and untoward accident went near to have been given up and broken.

There were certain *Scottiſh* young men came into *Norham* Town, and having little to do went ſometimes forth and would ſtand looking upon the Caſtle. Some of the Garriſon of the Caſtle obſerving them, and having not their minds purged of the late ill-humour of Hoſtility, either ſuſpected them or quarrel'd with them as ſpes, whereupon they fell at ill words, and from words to blows, ſo that many were wounded of either ſide, and the *Scots* (being ſtrangers in the Town) had the worſt: Inſomuch that ſome of them were ſlain, and the reſt made haſte home. The matter being complained on, and often debated before the Wardens of the Marſhes of both ſides, and no good order taken, King *James* took it to himſelf, and ſent *Marchmond* Herauld to the King of *England* to make proteſtation, *That if*

reparation were not done according to the Conditions of the Truce, his King did denounce War. The King of *England* (who had often tryed fortune, and was enclined to Peace) made anſwer, *That what had been done was utterly againſt his will, and without his privity; But if the Garriſon Souldiers had been in fault he would ſee them puniſhed, and the Truce in all points to be preſerved.* This anſwer pleaſed not King *James.* Biſhop *Fox* underſtanding his diſcontent, being troubled that the occaſion of breaking the Truce ſhould grow from his men, ſent many humble and deprecatory Letters to the King of *Scotland* to appeaſe him. Whereupon King *James* mollified by the Biſhops ſubmiſs and diſcreet Letters, wrote back again unto him, *That though he were in part moved by his Letters, yet he ſhould not be fully ſatisfied except he ſpake with himſelf, as well about the compounding of the preſent differences, as about other matters that might concern the good of both Kingdoms.* The Biſhop adviſing with his Maſter, took his journey to *Scotland*: the meeting was at the Abby of *Melroſe* where the King then abode. The King firſt roundly uttered unto the Biſhop his offence received for the breach of the Truce by his Men at *Norham* Caſtle, after ſpeaking with him apart, he told him, *That theſe temporary Truces, and Peace were ſoon made and ſoon broken: but that he deſired a ſtraiter Amity with the King of* England, *diſcovering his Mind, that if the King would give him in Marriage the Lady Margaret his eldeſt Daughter, That indeed might be a knot indiſſolvable; That he knew well what Place and Power the Biſhop deſervedly had with his Maſter; therefore if he would take the buſineſs to heart, and deal in it effectually, he doubted not but it would well ſucceed.*

The Biſhop anſwered ſoberly, *That he thought himſelf*

himſelf rather happy than worthy, to be an inſtrument in ſuch a matter, but would do his beſt endeavour. Wherefore the Biſhop of *Durham* returning from *Scotland* to his King at *London*, and giving account what had paſſed, and finding his King more than well diſpoſed in it, gave the King firſt advice to proceed to a concluſion of Peace, and then go on with the Treaty of Marriage by degrees; hereupon a Peace was concluded to continue for both the Kings lives, and to the overliver of them one year after. In this Peace there was an Article contained, *That no Engliſh-man ſhould enter into* Scotland, *nor no Scotch-man into* England, *without Letters Commendatory from the King of either Nations.*

During this Treaty of the Marriage it is reported that the King of *England* referred this matter to his Council, and that ſome of the Table in freedom of Councellours (the King being preſent) had put the caſe, *That Iſſues Males and Females falling of the Race of his two Sons, that then the Kingdom of* England *would fall to the King of* Scotland, *which might prejudice the Monarchy of* England. Whereunto the King replyed, *That if any ſuch event ſhould be,* Scotland *would be but an acceſſion to* England, *and not* England *to* Scotland, *for that the greater would draw the leſs, and that it was a ſafer Union for* England *than that of* France.

Shortly after the eſpouſals of *James* King of *Scotland* with Lady *Margarite* the King of *Englands* eldeſt Daughter followed: which were done by Proxie and in all ſolemn manner. The Aſſurance and contract was Publiſhed at *Pauls Croſs* the Twenty Fifth of *January* at *London*, in applauſe of which, Hymns were publickly ſung in the Churches, and Bonfires with great Feaſting and Banqueting ſet throughout all the City.

Julius

Julius the Second in the beginning of this Treaty did gratifie King *James* with a Sword and Diadem wrought with flowers of Gold (which the Popes on Chriſtmas even uſed to Conſecrate, a cuſtom firſt brought in by *Sixtus Quartus*) which were preſented to him at *Holy-Rood-Houſe*; the Marriage was in *Auguſt* following conſummate at *Edenburgh*, King *Henry* bringing his Daughter as far as *Colliveſton* on the way: where his Mother the Counteſs of *Richmond* abode; and then reſigning her to the attendance of the Earl of *Northumberland* who with a great Train of Lords and Ladies of Honour brought her into *Scotland* to the King her Husband, Solemn days were kept at Court for Banqueting, Masks and Revelling, Barriers and Tilting Proclaimed. Challenges were given out in the Name of the Savage Knight (who was the King himſelf) Rewards deſigned to the Victors. Old King *Arthur* with his Knight of the Round-Table were here brought upon the Liſts. The Fame of this Marriage hath drawn many Forreign Gentlemen to the Court. Amongſt others came Monſieur *Darcie*, naming himſelf *Le Sieur de la Beautle*, who tryed Barriers with the Lord *Hamilton*, after they had Tilted with grinding Spears. Some of the Savage Knights Company (who were robuſt High-land men) he giving way unto them, ſmarted really in theſe feigned Conflicts, with Targets and Two-handed Swords to the Muſick of their *Bagpipes*, fighting as in a true Battel, to the admiration of the *Engliſh* and *French*, who had never ſeen men ſo ambitious of Wounds, and prodigal of Blood in ſport. All were magnificently entertained by the King, and with honourable Largeſſes and Rewards of their Valour, licenſed to return Home.

During the Treaty of this Marriage with *England*,

land, a Monſter of new and ſtrange ſhape was born in *Scotland* near the City of *Glaſgow*, the body of which under the waſte or middle varied nothing from the common ſhape and proportion of the bodies of other men, the members both for uſe and comlineſs being two, their faces looking one way; ſitting they ſeemed two men to ſuch who ſaw not the parts beneath, and ſtanding it could not be diſcerned to which of the two Bulks above the thighs and legs did appertain. They had differing Paſſions, and divers wills, often chiding others for diſorder in their behaviour and actions: after much deliberation embracing that unto which they both conſented. By the Kings Direction they were carefully brought up, and inſtructed in *Muſick* and *Forreign Languages*. This monſter lived Twenty eight years, and dyed when *John* Duke of *Albany* Govern'd. *Claud Gruget* maketh mention of the like Monſter born in *Paris* before the Marriage of *Henry* the Fourth the *French King* with *Margarite* of *Valois*, but the birth and death of it were near together.

The King by his great Liberality unto Strangers abroad, and his laviſh ſpending at home, for religious Places were founded, Caſtles repaired, Ships builded, (three of an extraordinary greatneſs) finding himſelf needy of Treaſure to ſupport the daily expences at Court, engaged to many and ſunk deep in debt; and that Subſidies he could not Levy except by the Suffrages of his Parliament, by whoſe Power they were impoſed and rated ſetteth the moſt learned Counſellors at Law, and men experienced in Foreign Policy to find out new means and ways to acquire and gather him moneys by Laws already made and Ordained, which was in effect to *Pole* the People by executing the rigour of Juſtice, the Fortunes of wiſe men ariſing often on the expences of Fools,

Fools, after the example of King *Henry* the ſeventh of *England*, his Father-in-law, who taking the advantage of the breach of his penal Statutes gave power to Sir *Richard Empſon* and *Edmund Dudley* by Informers and Promoters to oppreſs and ruine the Eſtates of many of his beſt Subjects, whom King *Henry* the Eight to ſatisfy his wronged people, after his deceaſe cauſed Execute. Old Cuſtoms are by theſe men pryed into, and forgotten abſolet Statutes quickned.

Amongſt the Titles of poſſeſſing of Lands in *Scotland* there is one, which in proceſs of time of an ungodly cuſtom grew ſtrong and is kept for a Law, being fetched by imitation from the Laws of the neighbouring States; That if the poſſeſſour of Lands die, and leave a Minor to ſucceed to him, his Tutelage belongeth to the King, and the profit of the Lands until the Minor be of the age of One and twenty years. This is of thoſe Lands which are termed Wards. The King cauſeth bring up his Wards, but beſtoweth no more of their Rents upon them than is uſeful to ſuch of that age. By another Law they have not any thing better than this, which they call *Recognition*, that if the evidences of any Poſſeſſour of Ward-lands be not in all points formal, and above exceptions of Law, the Lands (the poſſeſſours put from them) ſhall return to the Lords Superiour: and like to this, That if a Poſſeſſour of Ward-Lands without the conſent of the Superiour, ſell and put away the half, or above the half of his Land and Farm, the whole Land and Farm returneth to the Superiour or Lord Paramount. They have Lands held with Clauſes which they call *Irritant*, that if two terms of a few-duty run unpaid into the Third, the Land falleth unto the Superiour. When thoſe Laws and other like them by reaſon of the Neighbour

Incurſions

Incurſions and troubles with *England*, and the civil broyls at home had been long out of uſe amongſt the Subjects, and the execution of them as it were in a manner forgot, theſe Projectors and new *Tol-maſters* the King giving way to enrich his Exchequer, awakned them. Many of the Subjects by theſe enquiries were obnoxious to the King and ſmarted, but moſt the moſt honeſt, who were conſtrained either to buy their own Lands and Inheritance from the Exchequer, or quit and freely give ſome portion of them to thoſe Caterpillars of the State. The King was ſo dearly beloved of his People, that in the height of thoſe Grievances (which reached near the exorbitant Avarice of his Father) none refuſed or made difficulty to give all that the Laws ordained. The King ſeeing their willingneſs to perform and knowing their great diſability thereunto, out of his ſingular Grace and Goodneſs remitteth not only the rigour, but even the equity almoſt of his Laws, inſomuch that thereafter none of his Subjects were damnified in their Perſons or Eſtates by his proceedings: which gain'd him the hearts of all: And to put away all ſuſpicions and jealouſies from their minds (an ordinary Practice amongſt Princes) acts that fill Princes Coffers ever being the ruine of their firſt Projectors, of any wrong intended, He ſuffered the Promoters and Projectors of this Poling, with others of the moſt active to be thrown into Priſons, where ſome miſerably ended their days.

The year One thouſand five hundred and ſeven, *James* Prince of *Scotland* and *Iſles* was born at *Holy-rood-Houſe*, the Twenty firſt of *January*: the Queen in her throws of birth, being brought near the laſt Agony of Death, the King (overcome with affection and religious vows) taketh a Pilgrimage for her recovery on foot to Saint *Ninians* in *Galloway*; a place

place in thoſe credulous times famous for the burial of St. *Ninian* the Apoſtle of the *Britains*, and notorious by the many Proceſſions and viſits of the Neighbour Countries of *Ireland* and *England*; at his return he findeth his Queen recovered, the Child after dyed at *Sterlin*, with the Biſhop of *Galloway*, who was appointed to attend him. The year following the Queen brought forth another Son named *Arthur* at *Holy-rood-Houſe*, but he dyed alſo in the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*: and *Henry* the Seventh his Grandfather accompanied him to the other World. King *James* to the Coronation of the young King his Brother-in-law ſendeth Embaſſadours.

After the death of his two Sons, and his Father-in-Law, as if he had been warned from above to think upon his own mortality (whether he had a reſolute intention ſo to do, or that for reaſons known to himſelf, he would have it ſo appear) he giveth out, That out of remorſe for bearing Arms in the Field where his Father was ſlain, he had a reſolution to leave his Kingdom and viſit the holy Sepulchre. Then to prepare his way *Robert Blacka-Towre* Abbot of *Dumfermling* is directed; but the Abbot in his journey is Arreſted by Death, and the King findeth other hinderances to keep him at Home.

Amidſt theſe deliberations his Queen is delivered in the Pallace of *Linlithgow* of her third Son, in the Month of *April* One thouſand five hundred and Twelve, who ſucceeded to the Crown, and was named *James*.

About this ſame time *Bernard Stuart* that famous Warriour under *Charles* the eighth of *France*, who commanded the *French* in *Boſworth Field*, came to *Scotland*, followed by *Andrew Foreman* then Arch-Biſhop of *Burges*, and Biſhop of *Murray*, with *Alexander Stuart* the Kings Natural Son, after promo-

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ted to be Arch-Biſhop of St. *Andrews*. The cauſe which was given out to the rumours of the People of their coming, was, That the *French* King having no Male Children, crav'd the advice and counſel of the King of *Scotland* his Confederate, concerning the Marriage of his Eldeſt Daughter: whether he ſhould beſtow her upon *Francis* of *Valois*, the *Daulphine* and Duke of *Auguleſm*, or upon *Charles* King of *Caſtile*, who had preſented her with many tokens of affection, and by his Embaſſadours earneſtly ſought her from her Brother. But their great Errand was to divide the King from his Brother-in-law King *Henry*, and make him aſſiſt *Lovys*: theſe two Potentates intending a War againſt other.

Ann Daughter of *Francis* Duke of *Bretaign* after the death of her Siſter *Iſabella* remained ſole heir of that Dutchy, her Wardſhip falling to the *French* King *Charles* the Eighth; He terrified ſo her Subjects, guided her Kindred, and the principal Perſons about her, that making void the pretended marriage of *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*, which was by Proxie, ſhe was married unto him. Notwithſtanding he had the Daughter of *Maximilian* at his Court, with great expectation of a Marriage to be celebrate with her. After the death of King *Charles*, *Lovys* the twelfth having married *Jane* the Siſter of *Charles* and Daughter to *Lovys* the Eleventh, by his many favours beſtowed upon *Pope Alexander* the Sixth, and his Son *Ceſar Borgia*, obtaineth a Brief of Divorce againſt her, by the power of which (her weakneſs for the bearing of Children (the neceſſary upholders of a Crown) by his Phyſitians being proved) he had Married *Ann* of *Bretaign*, for he would not loſe ſo fair a Dowry for the bluſtering rumour of Malecontents, which in a little time would grow ſtale and vaniſh.

vaniſh. *Pope Alexander* dead, *Julius* the Second, a turbulent, unquiet, but magnificent Prelate, and a ſtout defender of Church-Patrimony, ſuſpicious of the Power of the *French* in *Italy*, and that they would not reſt content with the Kingdom of *Naples* and Dutchy of *Milan*, but one day hazard for all; fearing alſo they would, becauſe they might, put him out of his Chair, and ſubſtitute in his Room their Cardinal of *Amboiſe*, or ſome other of their own, began to ſtudy novations and means to ſend the *French* back to their own Country, his ordinary diſcourſe being, that he would one day make *Italy* free from *Barbarians*. He requireth King *Lovys* to give over the Protection of the Duke of *Ferrara*, and of *Annibal Bentivoglio* whom he had thruſt out of *Bulloign*. The King refuſing to forſake Confederates, the Pope betaketh him to his ſpiritual Arms, and threatneth with Excommunication the Duke and all who came to his aid and ſupport, eſpecially the *French*; they decline his Sentence, and appeal to a true and lawful General Council, with which they threaten him. *Henry* the Eighth then in the fervour of his youth, amidſt a great Treaſure left by his Father, and by more than ordinary bands of love and friendſhip tyed to the *Pope*, (as having diſpenſed with the marrying of his Brothers Widow) interpoſeth himſelf as an indifferent Mediatour and Interceſſor for Peace between the two parties, but in effect was the chief maintainer of the Quarrel, effecting nothing becauſe he would not. Conditions being refuſed by King *Henry*, he eſſayeth to draw the *French* arms from the Popes Territories by cutting them work nearer home, and bringing a neceſſity upon them to defend their own. Upon this determination he deſireth King *Lovys* to reſtore and render to him his Dutchies *Guyenne* and *Normandy* with his antient

ancient Inheritance of *Anjow* and *Mayne*, and the other old Poſſeſſions of the *Engliſh* in *France*, which wrongfully had been detained and kept from him and his Anceſtours. The War of *Italy* by theſe threatnings was not left of: for the Pope coming to *Bollogn* with intention to Invade *Ferrara*, is beſieged with his Cardinals, and he ſendeth Declarations to the Chriſtian Princes, proteſting the *French* not only thirſted after the Patrimony and Inheritance of St. *Peter*, but even after Chriſtian Blood. Mean while he abſolveth the Subjects of King *Lovys* from their Oath of Allegiance, abandoneth his Kingdom to any can poſſeſs it; at a Council at *Lateran* he diſpatched a Bull wherein the Title of moſt Chriſtian King, is transferred upon *Henry* King of *England*, who to his former Titles of *France* having now the approbation of the Pope, and the Kingdom interdicted, prepareth an expedition in perſon. After which with five thouſand barded Horſes, fourty thouſand Foot, coming in *Picardy:* he encampeth before *Therovenne*, a Town upon the Marches of *Picardy:* Here the Emperour *Maximilian*, reſenting yet his old injury, entreth into the King of *England's* Pay, and weareth the Croſs of St. *George: But ſo long as he ſtayed in the Army, it was governed according to his counſel and direction.*

King *James* before his meeting with *Bernard Stewart* and Biſhop *Forman*, was fully purpoſed to prove an indifferent beholder of this War: but *Bernard* having corrupted the Courtiers, and the Biſhop the chief Church-man of the Kingdom, after their long and earneſt interceſſion he was drawn altogether to affect and adhere to the *French.*

To throw the apple of Diſſention, *Biſhop Forman* is ſent to King *Henry* to demand certain Jewels by their Fathers will, or her Brothers Prince *Ar-*

thurs; appertaining to Queen *Margarite* his Siſter.

King *Henry* miſtruſting that Embaſſy, offereth all and more than they demand from him. Shortly after the *Engliſh* beginning to interrupt the traffick of the *French* by Sea, King *James* will ſend his Ships lately well mann'd and equipped for Fight, which not long before had been prepared (as was given out) to tranſport the King into *Syria* to his Coſin Queen *Ann*, ſuppoſing this Gift would rather ſeem a *Pledge* of friendſhip and Alliance to the *Engliſh* than any Supply of War. But *James* Earl of *Arran* having got the command of them, inſtead of Sailing towards *France*, arriveth in *Ireland*, whether by tempeſt of Weather, or that he would diſturb the King's Proceedings in Aſſiſting the *French*, inſtigated and corrupted by *King Henry*, it is uncertain: and after he had ſpoil'd *Knock-Fergus* a Maritime Village, returneth with them to the Town of *Ayre*.

The King taking in an evil part the Invaſion of *Ireland*, but more the lingring of the Earl, for he had received Letters from Queen *Ann* and Biſhop *Forman*, regretting the long and vain expectation of his Ships, giveth the Earl of *Anguſs*, and Sir *Andrew Wood* a Commiſſion for both him and them. The Earl of *Arran* by his Friends at Court, underſtanding his Maſters diſpleaſure, ere they could find him, hoiſted up Sails, and committeth himſelf rather to the uncertain fortune of the Seas, than the juſt Wrath of a King. After great Tempeſt arriving in *French Bretaign*, theſe Ships built at ſuch extraordinary Charges, Sayls and Cordage being taken from them, rotted and conſumed by weather, in the Haven of *Breſt*.

Now matters grew more exaſperate between the Brother Kings; *Robert Car* Warden of the Borders is killed by three *Engliſh*, *Hieron*, *Lilburn*, *Struthers*. *Andrew Barton*, who upon an old quarrel begun in the

the Reign of King *James* the Third, had purchaſed Letters of Repriſal againſt the *Portugals*, by *Thomas Howard* the *Engliſh* Admiral is ſlain, and his Ships taken. To this laſt grievance (when it was expoſtulated) King *Henry* is ſaid to have anſwered, *That Truce amongſt Princes was never broken for taking or Killing of Pyrates.*

Alexander Lord *Hume* Warden of the Eaſt Marches in *Revenge* of accumulated injuries, with three thouſand men Invadeth the *Engliſh* Borders, burneth ſome Villages, and Forrageth the Fields about. But having divided his Forces, and ſent a part of them loaden with ſpoils towards *Scotland*, he falleth in an Ambuſh of the *Engliſh*: where Sir *William Bulmure* with a thouſand Archers put him to flight, and took his Brother *George*. During theſe Border Incurſions, the Lord *Dacres* and Doctor *Weſt* came as in an Embaſſie from *England*, not ſo much for the Eſtabliſhing a Peace, and ſetling thoſe Tumults, begun by the meeting of Commiſſioners (who Aſſembled and concluded nothing) as to give their Maſter certain and true Intelligence of the Proceedings of the *Scots* with the *French*, and what they attempted.

Monſieur *de la Motte* was come with Letters from the *French* to ſtir *King James* to take Arms againſt the *Engliſh*, and had in his Voyage drowned three *Engliſh* Ships, bringing ſeven with him as Prizes to the Harbour of *Leyth*. *Robert Bartoun* in revenge of *Andrew Bartouns* death, at that ſame time returned with thirteen Veſſels all Prizes. King *Lovys* had ſent a great Ship loaden with Artillery, Powder, and Wines; in which Mr. *James Oguylbuy* Abbot of *Drybrough* arrived, with earneſt requeſt for the renewing of the ancient League between *France* and *Scotland*, and Letters from Queen *Ann* for the Invaſion of *England*. In which ſhe regretted he had

not one Friend nor maintainer of his Honour at the Court of *France* (after the late delay of the ſending his Ships) except her ſelf and her Ladies: that her requeſt was, He would for her ſake whom he had honoured with the name of his Miſtriſs in his Martial ſports in time of Peace, March but one mile upon the *Engliſh* bounds, now in time of an appearing War againſt her Lord and Country.

The King thinking himſelf already engaged and intereſted in his Fame, drawn away by the Promiſes, Eloquence, and other perſuaſions of the *French*, aſſembleth the three Eſtates of his Kingdom to deliberate about a War with *England*. Many oppoſe it, but in vain; for at laſt for fear of the King's diſpleaſure it is concluded, uncertain whether by a worſe Counſel or event. But before any hoſtility againſt the *Engliſh* they determine and Decree, That King *Henry* ſhall by an Herauld be fairly advertiſed and deſired to deſiſt from any further Invaſion of the Territories of the *French* King, or Duke of *Guilders* (who was General of the *French* Army) the King of *Scotland's* Confederates and Kinſmen: which not being yielded unto, the War as lawful and juſt ſhall be denounced.

Henry, the Eight then Beſieging *Therovenne*, anſwered the Herauld who delivered his Commiſſion: That he heard nothing from him, but what he had expected from a King a Deſpiſer of God's and Man's Law; for himſelf, he would not give over a War ſo happily begun for any threats. Neither did he care much for that Man's friendſhip, of whoſe unconſtancy he had ſo often had experience, nor for the power of his Kingdom and ambitious Poverty.

After this anſwer of the King of *England*, A Declaration by the King of *Scotland* was publiſhed almoſt to this ſenſe.

Though

Though Princes ſhould direct their Actions more to conſcience than Fame, and are not bound to give an account of them to any but to God alone, and when Armies are prepared for Battel, they look not ſo much to what may be ſaid, as to what ought to be done; the Victors being ever thought to have had Reaſon upon their ſide, and the juſteſt Cauſe: yet to manifeſt our ſincerity, and the uprightneſs of our proceedings, as well to theſe preſent times as to poſterity, who may hereafter enquire after our deportments, that all may take a full view of our intentions and courſes, we have been mov'd to lay down the juſtneſs and equity of our Arms before the Tribunal of the World.

The Laws of Nations and of Nature, which are grounded upon the Reaſon by which Man is diſtinguiſhed from other Creatures, oblige every one to defend himſelf; and to ſeek means for ones own preſervation is a thing unblamable; but the Laws of Soveraignty lay greater obligations upon us, and above all men Monarchs, and they to whom God hath given the Governments of States and Kingdoms, are not only bound to maintain and defend their own Kingdoms, Eſtates and Perſons, but to relieve from unjuſt Oppreſſion, *ſo far as is in their power, being required, their Friends, Neighbours and Confederates, and not to ſuffer the weak to be overthrown by the ſtronger. The many Innovations and troubles raiſed upon all ſides about us, the wrongs our Subjects have ſuffered, by the Inſolencies and Arrogancy of the Counſellors of* Henry *King of* England *our Brother-in-Law, are not only known to our Neighbour, but blazed amongſt remoteſt Countries. Roads and Incurſions have been made upon our Borders; Sundry of our Lieges have been taken, and as in a juſt War, turned Priſoners; the Warden of our Marches under Aſſurance hath been miſerably killed; our Mer-*

chants at Sea Invaded, ſpoiled of their Goods, Liberties, Lives: above others, the chief Captain of our Ships put to death, and all by the King's own Commiſſion; upon which breaches between the two Kingdoms, diſorders and manifeſt wrongs committed upon our Subjects, when by our Embaſſadours we had divers times required ſatisfaction and reparation, we received no Juſtice or anſwer worthy of him or us, our Complaints being rejected, and we diſdainfully contemned, that longer to ſuffer ſuch inſolencies, and not by juſt Force to reſiſt unjuſt violence, and by dangers to ſeek a remedy againſt greater or more imminent dangers; Not to ſtand to the defence of our Lieges, and take upon us their Protection, were to invite others to offer the like affronts and injuries to us hereafter.

Beſides theſe Breaches of Duty, Outrages, Wrongs done unto us, his Brother Henry *King of* England *without any juſt cauſe or violence offered to him or any of his by the King of* France, *hath Levyed a mighty Army againſt him, Invaded his Territories, uſing all Hoſtility: Continuing to aſſault and force his Towns, make his Subjects Priſoners, Kill and Ranſom them, impoſe Subſidies, and lift moneys from the quiet ſort which wrongs, dammage and injuſtice we cannot but repute done unto us in reſpect of our earneſt interceſſions unto him and many requeſts rejected, and that ancient League between the two Kingdoms of* France *and* Scotland, *in which theſe two Nations are obliged reſpectively, and mutually bound to aſſiſt others againſt all Invaders whatſoever; that the Enemy of the one ſhall be the Enemy of the other, and the Friends of the one, the Friends of the other. As all Motions tend unto reſt, the end of a juſt War being Peace, that our Brother (who hath no ſuch Enemy as the too great Riches and abundance in which he ſwimmeth)*

meth) *may entertain Peace with his Brother Princes, and moderate that boundleſs Ambition, which maketh him Uſurp* Domination *over his equals; we have been Compelled to take us to defenſive Arms; for our Brother hath now declared himſelf, and vaunteth that he is ſole Judge and Umpire of the Peace of* Europe, *and that from his will, the differences of Succeſſions and Titles of Principalities, wrongs and other intereſts depend, as that all ſhould be obſequious to his Authority; and what particular Authority can be more intolerable, than that he ſhould hinder ſo great and juſt a Prince as the King of* France *to claim his own, and defend his Subjects?*

If our Brother the King of England *by the ſupply and aſſiſtance of many Neighbour Countrys, now by the Provocation of the Biſhop of* Rome, *ariſing upon all ſides againſt the* French, *ſhould extend his Power and Victory over* France (*under what colour and pretence of Juſtice ſoever*) *to what an extremity ſhall the Kingdom of* Scotland *be reduced, having ſo powerful and ambitious a Neighbour? Fear of any Neighbour Princes Greatneſs, when it extendeth it ſelf over adjacent Territories, is a good cauſe of Defence and taking of Arms, which cannot be but juſt, ſith moſt neceſſary.*

We are not ignorant that here will be objected againſt us, the breach of a League contracted between our Brother and Us: We have not broken that League; but for great Cauſes and Reaſons ſeparate our ſelves from it, our Brother having taken away the means, occaſions, reaſons, were had to obſerve it. In all Leagues, Confederations, Alliances and Promiſes amongſt Princes, the laſt Confederation is ever underſtood to be contracted without prejudice to the Rights of any former Alliances: and when our Embaſſadours made that League with our Brother, it was to be under-

ſtood that it ſhould hold no longer, nor we longer be bound unto it than he ſhould keep to our firſt Allies and ancient Confederates, not breaking their Peace, nor troubling the Government and Eſtates of their Countries. A National League is ever to be preferred before any perſonal, an ancient to a new; the Leagues between the Kingdoms of France *and* Scotland *having continued many ages, ſhould juſtly be preferr'd to that which we as a new Ally of the Houſe of* England *did contract, which yet we are moſt willing to keep: but the love of our Country paſſing all private reſpects hath moved us to ſeparate our ſelves for a time from it.*

All Leagues, Confederations, Alliances, Promiſes amongſt Princes are reſpectively and mutually underſtood, with this condition and Law, providing both keep upon either ſide; the one party breaking or departing from the League, Alliance or promiſe, the other is no longer bound to keep or adhere unto it. So long as the King of England *kept unto us, we kept unto him: He now having many ways broken to us, we are no longer obliged to keep to him; That ſame Oath which obliged and tyed us, after his breach abſolving and making us free; and of this we divers times advertiſed him, giving him aſſurance, except we would betray that Truſt and confidence our Subjects and Confederates had in us for the maintenance of their Peace and ſafety, we could not but aſſiſt them in their juſt cauſe (howſoever the juſteſt actions have not ever the moſt profitable events) and be conſtrained to have a recourſe to Arms for a remedy of their preſent miſery.*

And now notwithſtanding of our advanced expedition, and preparations for War, that the world may judge rightly of our intentions, We declare and manifeſt, that if our Brother ſhall leave off the Invaſion

of

of our Confederates, uſe no more Hoſtility againſt them, and give ſatisfaction for the wrongs done unto our Subjects, that we ſhall disband our Forces: and are content that all matters of difference aſwel between the King of France, *and our Brother, as our Brother and us, be amicably judged, decided and taken away. As that not only a Truce and Ceſſation of their miſery for a time, but a perfect and laſting Peace be concluded and eſtabliſhed, to the full contentment, and laſting happineſs of the three Kingdoms and our Poſterity.*

Whileſt the King ſtayed at *Linlithgow* attending the gathering of his Army, now ready to ſet forward, and full of cares and perplexity, in the Church of St. *Michael* heard Evenſong (as then it was called) while he was at his Devotion, an ancient Man came in, his Amber coloured locks hanging down upon his ſhoulders, his forehead high and enclining to baldneſs, his Garment of Azure colour, ſomewhat long girded about him with a Towel, or Table Napkin, of a comely and reverent Aſpect. Having enquired for the King, he intruded himſelf into the Preaſe, paſſing thorow till he came to him, with a clowniſh ſimplicity, leaning over the Canons Seat where the King ſate, Sir (ſaid he) I am ſent hither to intreat you for this time to delay your expedition, and to proceed no farther in your intended journey: for if you do, ye ſhall not proſper in your enterprize, nor any of your followers. I am farther charged to warn you, if ye be ſo refractory as to go forward, not to uſe the acquaintance, company, or counſel of Women, as ye tender your Honour, Life, and Eſtate.

After this warning he withdrew himſelf back again into the Preaſe; when Service was ended, the King enquired earneſtly, for him, but he could no where

where be found, neither could any of the ſtanders by (of whom diverſe did narrowly obſerve him, meaning afterwards to have diſcourſed further with him) feel or perceive how, when, or where he paſſed from them: having as it were vaniſhed in their hands.

After this Army had muſtered in the Borrow-moor of *Edenburgh* (a field then ſpacious and delightful by the ſhades of many ſtately and aged Oaks) about the midſt of the Night there is a Proclamation heard at the Market Croſs of the Town, ſummoning a great many Burgeſſes, Gentlemen, Barons, Noblemen to appear within fourty days before the Tribunal of one *Plot-Cock*; the Provoſt of the Town in his Timber Gallery having heard his own Name cited, cried out that he declined that Judicatory and appeal'd to the mercy of God Almighty.

Nothing was the King moved with thoſe advertiſements, thinking them Scenick pieces acted by thoſe who hated the *French* and favoured the *Engliſh* Faction: being ſo boldly and to the Life perſonated that they appalled and ſtroke with fear ordinary and vulgar judgments, as Trage-Comedies of Spirits. The Earl of *Anguſs* diſſuaded him from that expedition, and many of the moſt reverend Church-men, but the Angel which moſt conjured him was *Margarite* his Queen who at that time was with child; her tears and prayers ſhook the ſtrongeſt beams of his Reſolutions. She had acquainted him with the Viſions and affrightments of her ſleep; that her Chains and Armelets appeared to be turned into Pearls; She had ſeen him fall from a great Precipice; She had loſt one of her Eyes. When he had anſwered theſe were but Dreams, ariſing from the many thoughts and cares of the Day, but it is no Dream (ſaith ſhe) that ye have but one Son, and him

him a weakling; if otherways than well happen unto you, what a lamentable day will that be, when ye ſhall leave behind you, to ſo tender and weak a Succeſſor, under the Government of a Woman, for Inheritance, a miſerable and bloody War? It is no dream that ye are to Fight a mighty People; now turned inſolent by their riches at home and power abroad: that your Nobility are indigent ye know, and may be brib'd to leave you in your greateſt danger. What a folly, what a blindneſs is it to make this War yours, and to quench the fire in your Neighbours Houſe of *France*, to kindle and burn up your own in *Scotland*? ye have no ſuch reaſon to aſſiſt the *French*, as ye have to keep your promiſes to *England*, and enjoy a Peace at home. Though the *Engliſh* ſhould make a Conqueſt of *France*, will they take your Crown, or diſinherit their own Race, this is even as the left hand would cut off the right? Should the Letters of the Queen of *France*, (a woman twice married (the firſt half in Adultery, the laſt almoſt Inceſt) whom he did never nor ſhall ever ſee) prove more powerful with you, than the cryes of your little Son, and mine, than the tears, complaints, curſes of the Orphans, and Widows which ye are to make? If ye will go, ſuffer me to accompany you; it may be my Country-men prove more kind towards me, than they will to you; and for my ſake yield unto a Peace. I hear the Queen my Siſter will be with the Army in her Husbands abſence; if we ſhall meet, who knows what God by our means may bring to paſs.

The King anſwered all her complaints with a ſpeedy March which he made over the *Tweed*: not ſtaying till the whole Forces came to him, which were ariſing and prepared.

The twenty two of *Auguſt* coming into *England* he

he encamped near the water of *Twiſel* in *Northumberland*, where at *Twiſel-haugh* he made an Act, That if any man were ſlain or hurt to death by the *Engliſh*, during the time of his abode in *England*, his Heirs ſhould have his Ward, Relief, and Marriage. *Norham*, *Wark*, *Foord*, *Eatel* are taken and caſt down. Amidſt this Hoſtility the Lady *Foord* (a noble Captive) was brought in a pitty-pleading manner, with her daughter (a Maid of excellent beauty) to the Camp. Not without the Earl of *Surreys* direction, as many ſuppoſed, for they have a vigorous Prince and his Son (though natural by the gifts of Nature and Education above many lawful) to try the Magick of their Eloquence and beauty upon. The King delighting in their Company, not only hearkneth to the diſcourſe of the Mother, but giveth way to her counſel: which was, if ſhe ſhould be diſmiſſed, to ſend him true and certain Intelligence of what the *Engliſh* would attempt, taking her way to their Camp: but in effect proved the winning of time to the Earl of *Surrey*, and the loſing of occaſion to him. Her few days ſtay bred in him a kind of careleſneſs, ſloath, procraſtination and delay, a neglect, and as it were a forgetfulneſs of his Army and buſineſs: eighteen days tarrying in *England*, in a Territory not very fertile, had conſum'd much Proviſion, the Souldiers began to want neceſſaries, a number in the Night by blind paths returned to their own Country. In a ſhort time only the Noblemen and their Vaſſals attended the King. Theſe requeſt him not to ſpend more time on that barren Soyl, but to turn their Forces againſt *Berwick*, which Town was of more importance, than all the Hamlets and poor Villages of *Northumberland*, neither was it impregnable or difficil to be taken, the Town and Caſtle being no ways provided and furniſhed

niſhed to endure a Siege. The Courtiers move the King to continue the Beleaguering of *Berwick* till their coming back: which would be an eaſie Conqueſt, *Northumberland* once forrag'd, in abſence of the braveſt of the *Engliſh* then in *France*.

Whilſt the Army languiſhed, and the King ſpent time at *Foord*, the Earl of *Surrey* directeth a Herauld to his Camp, requiring him either to leave off the Invaſion of his Maſters Country, and turn back giving ſatisfaction for wrongs committed; or that he would appoint a day and place wherein all differences might be ended by the Sword. This Challenge being adviſed in Counſel, moſt voices were that they ſhould return home, and not with ſo ſmall number as remained endanger the State of the whole Kingdom, enough being already atchieved for Fame, and too much for their friendſhip with *France*; why ſhould a few Souldiers, and theſe already tired out by forcing of Strengths, throwing down Caſtles, be hazarded againſt ſuch multitudes of the *Engliſh*, ſupplyed lately and encreaſed with freſh Auxiliaries? *Thomas Howard* Admiral, a Son of the Earl of *Surrey*, having newly brought with him to *New Caſtle* out of the Army lying in *France* Five thouſand Men, and One thouſand tall Sea men. If they ſhould return Home, the *Engliſh* Army could not but disband, and not conveniently this year be gathered again, conſiſting of Men Levied from far and diſtant Places. Again, if they ſhould be engaged to come to a Battle; their own Country, being fields to them well known, would prove more commodious and ſecure to Fight upon than *Engliſh* ground, beſides the opportunity of furniſhing and providing the Camp with all neceſſaries at leſs charges. The *French* Embaſſadour and others of his Faction remonſtrate to the King, what a ſhameful retreat he would make, if at

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the deſire of the Enemy he returned, and without the hazard of a Battle, being ſo near unto him; that by Fighting in *England*, he kept his own Country unforraged; and conſum'd the Proviſion of his Enemy, which at laſt would weaken his Forces: That for contentment to both Armies, *Islay* a *Scottiſh* Herauld ſhould return with *Rouge-Croſs* the *Engliſh*, and condeſcend upon a day, promiſing them the mean time tarrying and abode, till the righteouſneſs of the cauſe were decided in a Battle.

The ſet and appointed Day by the Heraulds in which the two Armies ſhould have joyned being come and the *Engliſh* not appearing, nor any from them: The Nobility again reſort to the King; ſhow how by the ſlight of the Enemy matters were prolonged from one day to another: the *Engliſh* Forces daily encreaſing. whilſt the *Scottiſh* were away and waxed fewer: that ſlight ſhould be oppoſed to ſlight; the day deſigned by the Heraulds not being kept, it would be no reproach to them to turn home without Battle, or if retiring, to Fight upon their own ground. If this Counſel pleaſe him not, but that he would there give them Battle, The next was to ſtudy all advantages for Victory, either by Stratagem, or the odds and furtherance of the Place of Fight; Where the *Chiviot* hills decline towards the plainer Fields ariſing behind them with high tops with beſt Ordnance ſhould be fortified, the water of *Till* running deep and ford-leſs upon the right hand, and but paſſable at the Bridge, the firſt Companies of the Enemy being paſſed, before they could be relieved and ſuccoured by their followers, the Bridge by the Artillery ſhould be beaten down, and the Enemy charged when they began to paſs the Water.

The King, impatient of Counſel, anſwered, though

though their number encreaſed to as many more as they were, he with that remainder of his Army would Fight them. That advantages were to be embraced according to the occaſion of the Fight without tedious deliberation, if any man was afraid, he might if he pleaſed return Home. A ſtrange Reſolution in a Prince, who imagined every man in his Army to have the ſame ſtrength, courage, boldneſs and reſolution with himſelf

This anſwer aſtoniſhed the Nobility, and ſince they could not perſuade him to a fair retreat, but that he will fight and that without the advantage of the Bridge, being inferiour in number to the *Engliſh* (for they were reckoned by the Scouts Six and twenty thouſand) they fortifie themſelves according to the commodity of the Hill where they lay Encamped with a Reſolution not to ſuffer the King to hazard his Perſon in the Battle. If Victory ſhould incline to them, their Gains were but ſmall, and Glory leſs, extending but over ſome few of the Nobility, and a ſmall parcel of the Body of the State of *England*, a number of Yeomen, and preſſed Horſemen, the flower of the Kingdom being in *France*. But if they were overthrown, their loſs would prove uncomparable, yea unſpeakable, a Martial young King either kill'd, taken, or put to flight; wherefore they think it fitting, not neceſſary, the King be pleaſed with ſo many as either chance or election might ſeparate with him, to be a ſpectator of the Fortune of the Day. To this the King replyed, He neither wanted ability to diſcharge the part of a Souldier, nor wiſdom to Command as a General, and to outlive ſo many valiant Country-man would be more terrible to him than Death it ſelf. When forced to give way for his perſonal preſence in the Field; they appoint ſome to be arrayed in like furniture of

Arms

Arms and a like Guard as the King; Shadows to perſonate him in ſundry quarters of the Field, that the Enemy ſhould not ſet one man as their chief mark to invade, from whoſe death the victory and concluſion of the War might depend: and if the King ſhould fall, the Army ſhould not loſe courage, nor be brought to believe he were loſt, ſo long as they ſaw a General with his Cognoſcance and Guard preſent and near them to be a witneſs of their Valour and Atchievments, as not long before at the Battle of *Fornou* in *Italy* had been practiſed by the *French* to their King *Charles* the eighth.

By this time the Earl of *Surrey* with the power of the *North* of *England*, was come within three miles of the Place where the *Scottiſh* Army was encamped, and perceiving he could not but with great diſadvantage fight them; he ſendeth an Herauld requiring the King to come forth of his Strength to ſome indifferent ground, where he would be ready to encounter him. The King being forward to condeſcend to this requeſt, the Lords cryed out, it was madneſs to accept of opportunity of fighting from his Enemies, and to ſet all at a main chance according to their appointment, it being their advantage to prolong time, and trifle with him, in whoſe Camp there was already ſcarcity of Victuals, which ere long might put him to ſuch a ſtand, that he ſhould not know well what to do. Neither was it likely he could be furniſhed from the inner parts of the Country, by reaſon of the cumberſom waies for carriage to paſs, after the falling of ſo great and continued rains, and the ſoftning of the Ground; that by ſitting ſtill, and committing nothing to Fortune, he might have his enemy at his pleaſure; if they dared aſſail him at their perils be it. He lacked nothing but patience to be Victorious.

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The *Scots* keeping their Trenches, the Earl essayeth to draw them out, and the ninth of *September* removing his Camp marcheth towards the same Hill of *Flowden* where they lay encamped; his Vanguard with the Cannon passed the Water of *Till* at *Twysel* Bridge, the Reer-ward going over at *Mylnford.* King *James* seeing them pass the water imagineth they meant to win a Hill between his Camp and them; To prevent which (setting fire to the Cabanes raised of boughs of Trees and Reeds) he removeth to another Hill, before the *English* could observe his Motion, the smoak darkning the air between the two Armies. Whilst the *Scottish* Army was removing the *English* advance to the Foot of *Flowden* Hill, by which they have double advantage, the *Scottish* Ordnance could not much annoy them, they marching upwards and under the level thereof, again by their Shot they might easily gall their enemies as they came downwards upon them.

The fatal hour of the Battle approaching the *English* draw up in good order six and twenty thousand men (some write thirty) in two Battails any of which was equal in number to the whole *Scottish* Army. *Thomas* Lord *Howard* Admiral had the Vanguard, of which Sir *Edmond Howard* his Brother led one of the Wings, and Sir *Marmaduke Constable* the other; The Lords *Dacres* and *Clifford*, with Sir *Edward Stanley* kept the Rear: the Earl of *Surrey* with *Latymer Stroop*, Sir *Stephen Bull* kept the main Battail. The *Scots* by their fewness of Number not being able to order many Battalions, marshal themselves in four, three of which should enter in Fight, and the fourth attend for supply. The King kept the middle or main; *Alexander Gordoun* Earl of *Huntley* had the right wing of the Van; the Earls of *Crawford* and *Montross* led the other, and some have Re-

corded the Lord *Hume*: The third Army was guided by *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, and the Earl of *Arguyl*, where was *Mackenney* and *Mackolean*, with the fierceneſs of the High-landers. *Adam Hepburn* Earl of *Bothwell* with his friends and the flower of the Gentry of *Lothian*, kept off for ſuddain diſpatches and chances of the Battle.

The Earl of *Huntly* making down the Hill where they encamped near the foot of *Branx Town*, encountreth that Wing of the *Engliſh* Hoſt which was led by Sir *Edmond Howard*, which after a furious and long Fight he put to flight, and ſo eagerly purſued the advantage, that Sir *Edmond* had either been killed or taken, if he had not been reſcued by Baſtard *Hieron* and the Lord *Dacres*, the Battalion which the Earls *Lennox* and *Arguyl* led (being Highland men) encouraged with this firſt glance of Victory, looſing their Ranks, abandoning all order (for ought that the *French* Ambaſſadour *La Motte* by ſigns, threatnings, clamours, could do to them) brake furiouſly upon the Enemy, and Invade him in the Face, of whom they are not only valiantly received, but by Sir *Edward Stanleys* traverſing the Hill, encloſed, cut down at their backs and proſtrate. The middle Ward which the King led, with which now the Earl of *Bothwel* with the power of *Lothian* was joyned, fought it out couragiouſly body againſt body, and Sword to Sword. Numbers upon either ſide falling till darkneſs, and the black ſhadows of the Night, forced as it were, by conſent of both, a Retreat: Neither of them underſtanding the fortune of the day, and unto whom Victory appertained.

Many brave *Scots* did here fall, eſteemed to above Five thouſand, of the nobleſt and worthieſt Families of the Kingdom: who chooſed rather to die than out-live their friends and Compatriots.

The

The King's Natural Son *Alexander* Arch-Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, the Biſhop of the Iſles, the Abbots of *Inchjefray* and *Kill-winny*, the Earls of *Crawford*, *Mortoun*, *Arguyl*, *Lennox*, *Arrel*, *Cathneſs*, *Bothwel*, *Athol*; the Lords *Elphinſtoun*, *Areskin*, *Forbeſs*, *Roſs*, *Lovet*, *Saintclare*, *Maxwell*, with his three Brothers, *Simple*, *Borthwick*; Numbers of Gentlemen, *Balgowny*, *Blacka-Towre*, *Borchard*, Sir *Alexander Seatoun*, *Mackenny*, with *Macklean*, *George* Maſter of *Anguſs*, and Sir *William Dowglaſs* of *Glenbervy*, with ſome Two hundred Gentlemen of their name and Vaſſals were here ſlain.

The *Engliſh* left few leſs upon the place, but moſt part of them being of the common ſort of Souldiers, and men of no great mark, compared with ſo many Nobles killed, and a King loſt, the number was not eſteemed nor the loſs thought any thing of.

The Companies of the Lord *Hume* had reſerved themſelves all the time of the Fight, keeping their firſt Order, and when by the Earl of *Huntley*, he was required to relieve the Battalions where the King fought, he is ſaid to have anſwered, That that man did well that day who ſtood and ſaved himſelf. After the retreat his Followers gathered a great booty of the ſpoils of the ſlaughtered. This Fight began *September* the Ninth about four of the clock after Noon, and continued three hours the year One thouſand five hundred and thirteen.

About the dawning of the next Morning the Lord *Dacres*, with his Horſe-Troops taking a view of the Field, and ſeeing the brazen Ordnance of the *Scots* not tranſported, with moſt part of the ſain Bodies not rifled, ſendeth ſpeedy advertiſement to the *Howards* and the penſive Army: inviting all to the ſetting up of Trophies, Spoil, and tranſporting of their great Ordnance to *Berwick*, amongſt which

were ſeven Culverins of like ſize and making, called the *Seven Siſters.*

Divers diverſly report of the Fortune of the King; We without affirming any thing for certain, ſhall only ſet down what Fame hath publiſhed, a falſe Witneſs often of Human Accidents, and which many times by malignant brains is forged, and by more malignant Ears received and believed. The *Engliſh* hold that he was killed in this Battle; the *Scots* that many in like Arms with the like Guards, were killed, every one of which was held for the King: Amongſt others *Alexander* Lord *Elphinſtoun* his Favourite, who had married *Elizabeth Barley* one of the Dames of Honour of Queen *Margarite.*

He was a man not unlike to the King in face and ſtature, and repreſenting him in Arms in the Field, with the valianteſt and moſt couragious of the Army fought it out, and acting Heroically his part, as a King was killed, heaps of ſlaughtered bodies environing his. In the ſearch where the Fight was, the number, taleneſs, furniture of the dead bodies being obſerved, their Faces and Wounds viewed, his body as if it breathed yet Majeſty, was amidſt the others ſelected, acknowledged for his Maſters, brought to *Berwick* and embalmed. That it was not the body of the King, the girdle of Iron which he ever wore, and then was not found about him, gave ſome, though not certain, teſtimony.

Some have Recorded, that the fortune of the day inclining to the *Engliſh*, four tall men mounted upon luſty Horſes, wearing upon the points of their Launces, for cognoſcances, Streamers of Straw, mounting the King on a Sorrel Hackney, convoyed him far from the place of fight, and that he was ſeen beyond the *Tweed*, between *Kelſo* and *Dunce.* After which what became of him was uncertain. Many hold

hold he was killed in the Caſtle of *Hume*, either by the intelligence between the *Engliſh* and the Lord *Humes* kindred, or out of fear (for they were at the ſlaughter of the Kings Father and the moſt violent in that Fight) or of hopes of great fortunes, which would follow innovations, and the confuſion of the State, being men who liv'd beſt in a troubl'd Commonwealth and upon the Borders.

One *Carr* a follower of the Lord *Humes*, that ſame night the Battle was fought, thruſt the Abbot of *Kelſo* out of his Abbacy: which he never durſt attempt, the King being alive. Another, *David Carbreth* in the time of *John* the Governour vaunted that however *John* wronged the *Humes*, he was one of ſix who had abated the inſolency of King *James*, and brought him to know he was a Mortal. To theſe is added, that the Governour *John*, not long hereafter, cut of the Heads of the Lord *Hume*, and his Brother without any known great cauſe. The Common people (ever more addicted to Superſtition than Verity) believed he was living, and had paſſed over the Seas, and according to his promiſe viſited the Holy Sepulchre in *Paleſtine*. There for his other offences and the bearing of Arms againſt his Father, in Prayers and Pennance he ſpent the remainder of his tedious days.

That he would return again when he found opportunity, and the neceſſity of *Europe* requir'd him. This report was of as great truth, as that which the *Burgundians* have of the Return of their Duke *Charles* after the Battle of *Nancy*, moſt of them believing he eſcaped from the conflict. He was loſt the twenty and five year of his Reign, the thirty and ninth of his Age the Ninth of *September* One thouſand five hundred and thirteen.

This King was of a vigorous body, his ſtature

being neither too tall nor too low, of a pleaſant countenance, of a pregnant wit; but by the faults of the times in which he lived, not poliſhed with Letters. He excelled in Horſe-manſhip, Fencing and Shooting. By much watching, ſlender diet, and uſe, he was enabled to endure all extremities of Weather, Scarcity or want of reſt, with good health of body.

He was juſt in giving judgment, in puniſhing Malefactors ſevere, yet tractable and moderate. With the peril of ſome few he reſtrained vices and rather ſhook the Sword than ſtruck with it. He knew there were ſome things, though Princes might, yet they ought not to do. He was eaſie of acceſs, moſt courteous in ſpeech, and meek in anſwering every man. He was ſo far from being overtaken with anger or other violent perturbations, that he was never obſerved to have given an evil or diſobliging word to any, or that the colour of his face changed by any offence offered him, or informations given him, relying without paſſion upon his own magnanimity.

He was of a free and liberal diſpoſition, far from any oſtentation. As he underſtood well the Art of giving, ſo to acquire and purchaſe he was not ſufficient of himſelf, but made uſe of men who drew more hatred upon their own heads, than moneys into their Princes Coffers.

Though he delighted more in War than the Arts, he was a great admirer and advancer of learned men. *William Elphinſtoun* Biſhop of *Aberdeen* builded by his Liberality the College of *Aberdeen*, and named it The King's College, by reaſon of thoſe Privileges and Rents the King beſtowed upon it.

His Generoſity did ſhew it ſelf in not delivering of *Perkin Warbeck*; he truſted much, and had great confidence in his Nobility, and governed by love not by fear, his People. It

It is no wonder amidſt ſo much worth, that ſome humane frailty, and ſome according Diſcord be found. There is no day ſo bright and fair, which one moment or other looketh not pale, and remaineth not with ſome dampiſh ſhadow of diſcoloured Clouds. He was ſomewhat wedded to his own humours opinionative and raſh; *Actions of raſhneſs and temerity, even although they may have an happy event, being never praiſe worthy in a Prince. He was ſo infected with that Illuſtrious crime which the Ambitious take for vertue, deſire of Fame, that he preferred it to his own life, and the peace of his Subjects.*

He ſo affected Popularity, and endeavoured to purchaſe the love of his People, by Largeſſes, Banquetting, and other Magnificence, diving in debt, that by thoſe Subſidies and exceſſive Exactions which of neceſſity he ſhould have been conſtrained to have levied and ſqueezed from the People, longer life had made him loſe all that favour and love he had ſo painfully purchaſed, that death ſeemed to have come to him wiſhedly and in good time.

The wedding of others quarrels, eſpecially of the *French*, ſeemeth in him inexcuſable; a wiſe Prince ſhould be ſlow and loath to engage himſelf in a War, although he hath ſuffered ſome wrong. He ſhould conſider that of all humane actions and hazards, there is not one of which the precipitation is ſo dangerous, as that of beginning and undertaking a War. Neither in Human Affairs ſhould there more depths be ſounded nor hidden paſſages ſearched and pryed into than in this. He ſhould remember that beſides the ſad neceſſity which is inſeparable from the moſt innocent War (the waſting and deſtroying of the Goods and Lives of much people) there is nothing of which the Revolutions and Changes are more inconſtant, and the concluſions and ends more uncertain.

The Sea is not more treacherous, falſe and deceiving, nor changeth not more ſwiftly her calms into ſtorms, than Wars and the fortune of Arms do, the event and ſucceſs belying the beginning. It is not enough that a Prince know a War which he undertaketh to be juſt, but he ſhould conſider alſo if it be neceſſary, and if it be profitable, and conduce to the State which he governeth.

As Men of ſtrong and healthful bodies follow ordinary delight in their youth, he was amorouſly carried away. He confined the Earl of *Anguſs* in the Iſle of *Arran*, for taking *Jane Kennedy* a Daughter of the Earl of *Caſſilles* out of *Galloway*, a fair and noble Lady, of whom he became enamoured as he went in his Pilgrimage to St. *Ninians*. In his laſt Expedition the Lady *Foord* was thought to have hindred the progreſs of his Arms, and haſten'd the ſucceſs of the Battle.

Though vertue be ſometimes unfortunate, yet is it ever in an high eſteem in the memories of Men: ſuch a deſire remained of him in the hearts of his People after his loſs, that the like was not of any King before him; Princes who are out of this Life being only the delights and darlings of a People. *Ann* the *French* Queen not many days out-lived the rumour of his death. He ſerves for an example of the frailty of great men on the Theatre of this world, and of the inconſtancy of all Sublunary things.

He had children, *James* and *Arthur* who dyed Infants, *James* who ſucceeded him, *Alexander* born after his death who dyed young; *Alexander* a Natural Son, Arch-Biſhop of *St. Andrews*, ſo much admired and courted by *Eraſmus*; *Margarite* a Daughter of the Lord *Drummonds*, married to the Earl of *Huntley*, whoſe Mother had been contract-

ed

ed to the King, and taken away (to his great regret) by thoſe who govern'd the State, that he ſhould not follow the example of King *Robert* his Predeceſſour, who marryed a Lady of that Family; *James* Earl of *Murray*.

THE





Iames. V King of Scotes
Año. 1514.

THE HISTORY Of the LIFE and Reign of James the Fifth, KING of SCOTLAND.

THe fatal accident and overthrow of the King, and Flower of the Nobility of *Scotland* at *Flowden* filled the remnant of the State with great ſorrow, but with great amazement and perplexity: for by this great change they expected no leſs than the progreſs and advancement of the Victors Arms and Fortune, and feared the Conqueſt, Servitude, and Deſolation of the whole Kingdom. The rigorous ſeaſon of the year being ſpent in mourning, and performing of laſt duties to the dead for their loſt kinſmen and friends; and the gathering together the floating Ribs and diſperſed Planks of this Ship-wrack, the Pears aſſembled at *Sterlin*, where being, applying themſelves to ſet their confuſions in order, and determine on the Remedies of their preſent evils, the lively pourtraict of their Calamities did repreſent it ſelf to the full view. The Head and faireſt parts which Majeſty, Authority, Direction,

Direction, Wiſdom had made eminent, were cut away, ſome turbulent Church-men, Orphant-Noblemen, and timorous Citizens, fill their vacant places: and many who needed directions themſelves, were placed to direct and guide the Helm of State; ſuch miſeries being always incident to a People, where the Father of the Country is taken away, and the Succeſſour is of under age. In this Maze of perplexity to diſoblige themſelves of their greateſt duty, and give ſatisfaction to the moſt and beſt, the Lawful Succeſſour and Heir *JAMES* the Prince is ſet on the Throne and Crowned, being at that time One year, five months and ten days of Age, and the hundred and fifth King of *Scotland*. The laſt Will and Teſtament which the late King had left before his expedition, being publickly ſeen and approved, the Queen challenges the Protection of the Realm and Tutelage of her Son, as diſpoſed unto her ſo long as ſhe continued a Widdow and followed the Counſel and advice of the Chancellour of the Realm, and ſome other grave Counſellours, and ſhe obtained it: as well out of a Religion they had to fulfil the Will of their deceaſed Soveraign, as to ſhun and be freed of the imminent Arms, and imminent danger of her Brother the King of *England*. Being eſtabliſhed in the Government, and having from all that reſpect, reverence, and obſervance which belong to ſuch a Princeſs, ſhe ſent Letters to the King of *England*; that having compaſſion upon the tears and prayers of a Widdow, of his Siſter, of an Orphan, of his Nephew, he would not only ceaſe from following the War upon *Scotland* (then at War with it ſelf and many ways divided) but ennobled by courage and goodneſs, be a defence unto her and the Infant her Son, againſt all injuries to be offered them by Forrainers abroad, or any of the

Factious

Factious Nobility, who would oppoſe themſelves againſt her at home.

To which King *Henry* anſwered, *That with the Peaceable he would entertain Peace, and with the Froward and Turbulent, War; If the* Scots *would live in Peace, they ſhould have it for his part, but if they would rather Fight, he was not to refuſe them. That her Husband had ſain by his own indiſcreet raſhneſs, and fooliſh kindneſs to* France, *that he regretted his death as his Ally, and ſhould be willing to prohibite all hoſtility againſt the Country of* Scotland *during the minority of her Son, for a remedy of preſent evils, one years Truce and a day longer was yielded unto; in which time he had leaſure to proſecute his deſigns againſt* France, *without fear of being diſturbed or diverted by the Incurſions and inroads of the* Scots *upon his Borders.*

The Government of a Woman and a Child over a People ever in Motion, mutinous and delighting in Changes, could not long ſubſiſt firm, nor continue after one faſhion. The firſt ſhake and diſorders of the Kingdom aroſe, and was occaſioned by the ambition and avarice of the Church-men (the Moth-worms of State) being ſeconded by the Factious Nobles and Male-contents; and it was the diſtribution of the Offices, Places, Benefices, vacant by the deaths of thoſe ſlain in the late Battel. *Andrew Forman* Arch-Biſhop of *Burges*, Biſhop of *Murray*, and Legate to the Pope *Julius*, *Gavin Dowglaſs* Biſhop of *Dunkel*, Uncle to the Earl of *Anguſs*, *John Hepburn* Prior of St. *Andrews*, contend all three for the Arch-biſhoprick of St. *Andrews*. *Gavin Dowglaſs* was preſented to it by the Queen, *Andrew Forman* by the Pope, *John Hepburn* was choſen by the Chapter his Canons; and ſundry of the Nobility favoured his Election, they ſaid alſo the place whilſt

it

it was vacant belonged unto him: and his Party was ſo ſtrong that none dared publiſh the Popes Bull in favour of *Andrew Forman* for many days. Till *Alexander* Lord *Hume* then Chamberlain and Warden of the Eaſt Marſhes, won by many promiſes, and the Abbacy of *Coldingham* engaged and preſently given in hand to his younger Brother *David*, in deſpight of the oppoſition of the Lord *Haylles* and the Faction of the *Hepburns*, then ſeditious and powerful, well backed by his Friends, Vaſſals, Adherents all in Arms, cauſed publiſh, and proclaim it at the Market croſs of *Edenburgh*, which action firſt incenſed the Prior to Plot miſchief againſt the Family of the *Humes*. *William Elphinſtoun* Biſhop of *Aberdeen* by many of the Clergy and ſome of the Nobility had been deſired to accept this Dignity, but he refuſed it, being now weary of earthly greatneſs, and making for another World, for at this time at *Edenburgh* he left this.

As ordinarily when one Faction is near extinguiſhed, the remnant ſubdivideth, after theſe jars of the Church-men, which were cheriſhed by the Nobility, the Nobles began to jar among themſelves, and grudge at others preferments. *Alexander* Lord *Gordon* ruled and commanded the Countries Northward the River of *Forth*, as *Alexander* Lord *Hume* Uſurped almoſt a Royal Authority, and commanded over the Countreys on South-ſide of the *Forth*, the Earl of *Anguſs* went about a fairer Conqueſt.

James Earl of *Arran* Lord *Hamiltown* being neareſt in blood to the King, could not but with indignation look upon the undeſerved greatneſs of theſe Uſurpers, under the ſhadow of this *Oligarchy*, turbulent, evil diſpoſed, and men abhorring quietneſs ravaged the Country and did what they pleaſed.

Amidſt theſe confuſions the Queen in *April* brought

brought forth the posthumous child in the Castle of *Sterlin*, whom the Bishop of *Cathness*, Abbot of *Dumfermlin*, and the Arch-Dean of St. *Andrews* baptized and named *Alexander*. After she was recovered and had required her wonted strength of Body, she found the Authority of her place was turned weak, and that she enjoyed nothing but the name of Governing, the people delighting to live rather without rule and in all disorders than to be subject to the obedience of a Woman though a Queen. After great deliberation and many essays in vain to curb their insolency and vindicate her Authority from their contempt, as also to save her Son from the dangers of an insulting Nobility, and settle her estate, she resolved to Match with some Nobleman eminent in Power and worth, who could and would Protect her and hers in greatest extremities. Amongst the choice of the young Noblemen of *Scotland* for a long Succession of renowned Ancestors, comelines of Person, noble conversation, prudence in affairs of State, being lovely, courteous, liberal, wise, none was comparable to the Earl of *Angus*; him she determines to make Partner of her Royal Bed and Fortunes; and as ordinarily in matters of love it falleth out by the impatience of delay, without acquainting her Brother the King of *England*, or the Nobles of the Kingdom with her design, she afterwards marryeth him, transferring, if she could, the whole weight of the Kingdom and the reins of the Government of the State into his hands, having no more freedom in her own determinations.

No sooner was this revealed to the World, when the Nobility and Gentry divided into two Factions, one adhering to the *Dowglass*, in whom kindred, friendship long observance had bred hopes of benefit and preferment; another of such whom envy of his

his greatneſs and advancement had made hungry of change. The firſt would have the Government continued in the Queens perſon and her husband's; becauſe hereby the Realm ſhould ſtill have peace with *England*, which at that time was the moſt neceſſary point to be reſpected. The adverſe Party, of which the Lord Chamberlain was the Principal, who was a man both in Power, Parentage, Riches, equal if not beyond, to many of the great Men of the Country, importuned the Election of a new Governour and Protector of the young King. The Queen loſing by her marriage both the tutelage of her Son and the Government, ſhould not take to heart that another were choſen and put in her place.

Her marrying the Earl of *Anguſs* had made him too great already to be a Subject; the continuing of her in Authority would promote him to the greatneſs of a Prince. Who ſhould be Governour, is upon both ſides long and contentiouſly argued. Many gave their voices for the Earl of *Arran*, as being near in blood to the King, and a man affecting peace more than others, and every way ſufficient for ſuch a Charge. The Chamberlain had determined of another, and told it was a wrong to bar from ſo high an honour a man of the Maſculine line in blood to the King, and prefer one of the Femine. *John* Duke of *Albany*, Son to *Alexander* Duke of *Albany* the Brother of King *James* the Third, before all others by all reaſon ſhould be preferred to the Government. Being demanded if he would the firſt, to give example to others, ſet his hand to this Election, he without pauſing performed it, with a proteſtation, that though the reſt of the Nobility oppoſed it, as to his coming into *Scotland* to accept the Government, he alone would go to *France*, charge him with it, be his Convoy hither, and maintain his Title.

This

This he was thought to have done, for that despairing to reach and obtain this Dignity himself, out of emulation he laid a design that never any other of the Nobles of the Kingdom should reach it: affecting rather to give a Stranger the place than a Competitor, bringing in the *French* to equal the ballance as principal, himself only as accessory, nothing doubting of a chief place in State, as well for his forwardness in this election as for the necessity of his Service which the *French* could not well want, and should never be lacking. He feared also if the Faction of the *Dowglasses* prevail'd, the greatness of the Earl of *Anguss* would be an umbrage to his, and lessen & impair it; Their Lands & Fortunes lying near to other, as that the Queen by her power in *England* would cross his fairest projects.

The King of *England* had sent a Letter to the Lords of *Scotland* (as he had done to the *French* King for that same effect) remonstrating how dangerous it was for the State of *Scotland*, and young King, if they should make choice of the Duke of *Albany*.

Notwithstanding of all which through ambition, malice, envy of others, discords amongst themselves, they made choice of this Gentleman, a stranger by his education and birth, ignorant of the nature and manners of the *Scots*: whose Father was banished for Treason against his Brother, and dyed unrestored. One altogether devoted to the *French* King, and an enemy to the *English*; not caring to keep the Country of *Scotland* in Wars and Troubles, so he might defend the *French* Nation, by making the *Scots* fight their battels.

After many private Letters from his Friends in *Scotland* (especially from the Chamberlain) inviting him to come home and accept his new dignity, the Duke at last is required by the State, and Lyon King of Arms is directed to him, to acquaint him with their

proceedings, and make him forward on his way. He to endear his coming and make himſelf the more deſired of the People, excuſing his ſtay for a while (which he laid upon the Treaty of Peace, which was then to be agreed upon between *England* and *France*, by the marriage of *Lovys* the *French* King with *Mary* the youngeſt Siſter of *Henry* King of *England*, which required his preſence) ſendeth home the King of Arms with Letters from the *French* King, with Sir *Anthony Darcea le Sieur de la Beautie*. This manpropounded certain conditions which the Duke required. What ſhould be the form of his Government, his Guards, what Caſtles ſhould be delivered to him for his Garriſons; the reſtoring his patrimony and Fathers dignities to him. Which particularities being condeſcended unto, the Caſtle of *Dumbar* was inſtantly delivered to *la Beautie* to be kept for a *French* Garriſon at the Dukes coming: and Sir *Patrick Hamilton*, Brother to the Earl of *Arran*, *James Oguilbuy* Abbot of *Arbroth* with the King of Arms, were ſent back again to *France*. After their Arrival the Duke of *Albany* furniſhed with all neceſſaries by the *French King* with eight well rigged Ships took the Seas, and in the month of *May* arrived on the Weſt coaſts of *Scotland*, from whence with a great retinue of the Nobles and Barons of the Country by eaſie journeys, the Queen meeting him, he came to the Town of *Edenburgh*. In the Parliament which had been prorogued for his coming, the Duke accepted the Government, and gave his Oath of fidelity to the King and Country: and the three Eſtates gave their Oath of obedience to him, and both ſwore in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, neither ſhould be deficient to others. Here is he reſtored to all his Fathers inheritance, Titles and honours. Being declared Duke of *Albany*, Earl of *March*, and *Governour* of the Kingdom till the King's

full

full maturity. Many Laws are made for the weal of the Kingdom, and to gratifie his Linnage, *James* the natural Son of *James* the fourth is created Earl of *Murray*.

At the preſence of this new Governour the face of the State turned more beautiful, and the Court more Royal, oppreſſion is reſtrained, juſtice ſincerely executed, the Court is frequented with good and virtuous men, Malefactors and naughty perſons baniſh themſelves. He maketh a progreſs to all the notable Towns of the *Kingdom*, ſeeing crimes puniſhed, and faults amended. Being a Stranger and not throughly acquainted with the municipal Statutes and particular practices of the Country, in matters great and of importance he proceedeth by the inſtructions and informations of ſome choice men of the Nation it ſelf. Eſpecially ſince he was not infinite to liſten to the advice of every one, he gave himſelf to hearken and follow the opinion and counſel of *John Hepburn* Prior of St. *Andrews*: whoſe judgment in his greateſt difficulties he receives as an Oracle. This man being of a ſubtle mind, malitious, crafty, rich and endued with ſome Courtly eloquence, by a counterfeit Pretence of knowledge of the affairs of the Kingdom and State (neither in ſome things did he err) at firſt being very familiar with the Duke and in a little time after, by bribing ſecretly ſome of his choice Servants, turned his only Privado, and almoſt poſſeſſed alone his judgment and ear. He informed him of the ſtrength and Riches of the Country, of the nature of the people, manner of their Laws, revealed to him many ſecrets of the Government. He gave him a Catalogue of the whole deadly fewds and diviſions amongſt the Noblemen and Gentry, opening unto him which were inveterate, and had long continued, and which were freſh, upon what accidents they had

their beginnings. How in proſecuting Revenge in them they cared not how innocent any man was if he were of the Name and Alliance, but rather thought, the more innocent any was, the more it teſtified their ſpight, which they deſired to manifeſt by taking him away. He ſhewed him what factions were in the Kingdom, who ſway'd them, and were the heads. He told him the *Scots* were a violent fierce people, mutinouſly proud, and knew not how to obey without the Sword were drawn. that they were never abſolutely governed by their own Kings themſelves, far leſs would they be ruled by him who was but a Governour, and half a Stranger. King *James* the Firſt they had killed, they had made a League againſt King *James* the Second, in open Battel they had overthrown King *James* the Third, and the laſt King was by beſt judgments thought to have been ſecretly taken away: here (calling to mind the proclaiming of the Arch-biſhop *Andrew Formans* Bull) he omitted nothing could derogate to the Chamberlains reputation and honour, and an evil opinion of him in the Governour.

He inſtructed him how the great Houſes of *Scotland* were ſo joined and linkt together, by kindred, Alliances, Bonds of ſervice or Homage, that no Gentleman of any quality, although a Malefactor and a guilty perſon, could be preſented to juſtice without ſome ſtir, commotion, tumult of the Grandees and their factious friends: Amidſt ſo many ſtrong parties and confederate male-contents, the Governour by the power of the *Scots* themſelves, and his own Kindred, Friends and Followers, were not powerful enough ſafely to adminiſter juſtice: for which cauſe the King of *France* ſhould be implored to ſend hither competent forces to quell the inſolencies and ſhake the pride of the factious Nobles.

The

The heads of the factions which had a principal ſway in the Kingdom at that time would either be cut off, or kept under, but with ſuch cunning and dexterity that it ſhould not be perceived, nor found out; that many were aimed at and intereſſed when ſome few did ſuffer and fall. That for the preſent there were three heads to be looked unto as feared and like to bring Novations in the State, being men able to change the preſent Government.

The Earl of *Anguſs*, a man in the prime of his youth of high flying thoughts by his Alliance with the King of *England*, and that eſtimation the people conceived of him by the demerits of his Anceſtors, and the ſingular love the Subjects bare him, carryed a mind above the fortune of a private man, and ſeemed not born to live a ſubjects life, each action of his bearing in it majeſty and magnificence, he had power to hurt if he would hurt.

The Lord Chamberlain, a man unpoliſht, ſtubbornly ſtout, hazardous, mighty in riches and power, and conſequently proud, of a working mind and vehement Spirit, whom time and experience had hardned by great exploits and moſt dangerous actions, who had the malice to be a Spectator of the diſcomfiture of his Prince and Countrymen at *Flowden*, was likely to attend the opportunity of traverſes and changes.

The third was the Arch-Biſhop *Andrew Forman*, once Secretary to the Pope, who though he was not of any Noble Stem nor deſcent of blood, nor for his Followers, Friends, and Adherents much to be taken notice of or feared, yet conſidering him as his Legateſhip, pluralty of benefices, many penſions from Princes, had guilded him over, and balancing him by his preſent treaſure, he could make a weak party ſtrong, and add weight to what ſide ſoever he inclined.

clined He was therefore with piercing eyes to be lookt into, and all his actions and ways to be obſerved.

The Governour gave not great attention to what the Prior had inſtructed againſt the Arch-Biſhop, having before had ſome inkling of the rancor, gnudge and enmity between them. And he was conſcious the Arch-Biſhops riches were above envy; he having been ever more ſolicitous magnificently to ſpend what he had acquired than hoord up. Neither did he beſtow ſo much upon any of his Countrymen, as he did upon the *French*, the Friends and Servants of the Governour. He knew he was alſo ſo circumſpect as not to adhere to any of the factions of the time, in a neutrality indifferently and friendly entertaining all his Compatriots.

Nor was he much moved at his information concerning the Earl of *Anguſs*, finding him a man peaceable, courteous to all and affable; and though of aſpiring thoughts, carryed often away with his private delights and Courtly pleaſures.

But what the Prior informed againſt the Lord Chamberlain he deeply ingraved in his memory, and ever after his countenance bewrayed certain flaws of ill concealed diſcontent: Neither did he thereafter ſhew him wonted favours, which the Chamberlain obſerving and gueſſing at the change of the Governnors mind towards him by more than ordinary evidences and ſigns: He having been the only man who wrought his advancement and coming to *Scotland*, his deſerts new either forgot or ungratefully remembred, full of grief and diſdain, retired from the Court to his own Caſtles, where, when he had reſted a while, half aſtoniſhed to ſee his hopes ſo fruſtrate he taketh new reſolutions and determinations to play the Governour double or quite. Hereafter he leaveth no means untryed to become entire with the

Queen

Queen and her Husband, and by obſervance and frequent meeting with them, he wrought himſelf not only to be imbraced as their Friend, but their Counſellor, and one in whom they had great confidence. He many times with them deplored the Publick Calamity, when his own particular only ſtung him, accuſing himſelf of his too much forwardneſs in calling home a man born an Exile, whoſe Father died baniſh'd for his ambition, and had eſſayed to take the Crown from his Eldeſt Brother. Sith this man was the neareſt of blood to ſucceed who could not perceive his laſt work would be the making away the innocent Child, his Pupil, to aſcend the Royal Throne himſelf; in the height of Malice accompliſhing what his Father out of a deſire to Rule did Project. By his tender years the King could not prevent his danger, his Mother might anticipate it, that new neceſſities requir'd new remedies, only one Poſtern gate remained yet open, which was, that the Queen would tranſport her Son to *England.*

When this Plot was whiſper'd to the Governour, who wanted not his Emiſſaries among the Queens Attendants, it was no ſooner reveal'd than believ'd, and no ſooner believ'd, when (being a man who uſed celerity in all his Actions) with as many men as haſt could ſuffer him to gather, forthwith marched from *Edenburgh* to *Sterlin*, there unawares he ſurprized the Caſtle, and in it the Queen with her two Sons. A Council being aſſembled, the King with his Brother *Alexander* are ſequeſtred from their Mother, and truſted to the cuſtody of four Lords, who by turns interchangeably ſhould attend the two Princes and have a care of their education. That no violence ſhould be offer'd them, certain Gentlemen of the *French* and *Scots* are appointed ſtill to wait on, nd guard them; from this ſuſpition the ſeeds of

enmity began to be ſown between the Queen and the Governour, which neither time nor wiſdom thereafter could take away and root out.

Amidſt this ſtorm of Court, the Lord Chamberlain brought to a new traverſe of his thoughts, with his Brother Mr. *William Hume* fly towards *England*; the Queen with her Husband and Sir *George Dowglaſs* his Brother with an unexpected ſuddenneſs haſt to *Tantallon*, and from thence to *Berwick*, from which they had a convoy to the Nunnery of *Colſtream*: Here they attended advertiſement from the King of *England* what courſe to follow and know his pleaſure. He recommended them to the Protection and care of the Lord *Dacres*, and aſſigned the Caſtle of *Harbottle* in *Northumberland* for his Siſters reſidence during her abode in theſe Northern parts, and the troubles of *Scotland*.

The Governour not a little perplexed at the flight and eſcape of thoſe Conſpiratours, ſendeth Embaſſadors to the Court of *England* to clear himſelf to the King of what might be ſurmiſed againſt him concerning theſe new ſtrangers come to his Country. He had done nothing which ſhould have offended the Queen, made her afraid, or to entertain or harbour a ſiniſter thought of his proceedings. Neither did he intend any thing againſt theſe had followed and accompanied her, which ſhould have moved them to leave their Country; unto whom if they pleaſed to return they ſhould be welcom, enjoy their wonted freedom, and keep peaceably what they had poſſeſſed. If they were conſcious to themſelves of any miſdemeanour, he would not be too preciſe in the ſearch of it. He alſo trafficked by the friends of thoſe who favoured the *Dowglaſſes* and *Humes* to perſuade them to a Return, giving them fair Promiſes of obtaining what they ſhould demand. Till at laſt he

removed

removed them to bow and yield to his desires. The fugitive Gentlemen return'd; but the Queen being with child, and near the time of her delivery, was necessitated to stay still, till at *Harbottle* Castle she brought forth her daughter *Margaret*, after Grandmother to *James* King of *Britain*. So soon as she was able to endure travel, and be transported, King *Henry* with an honourable retinue brought her to his Court, where she was by him and his Sister *Mary* (late Queen of *France*) welcomed. In *May* she made her progress through *London* to *Baynards* Castle, and from thence to *Greenwich*.

The Contrivers of the exploit of transporting the King to *England* being within the Country, and, as it were, secure, the Governor, whose head was filled with suspitions, not thinking himself bound by promises, will have them give a reckoning of their enterprize and flight into *England*. Against some he hath clear proofs, fair and manifest evidences, against other bare surmises and naked suspitions; for they had not left the Country, nor had they been partakers of the Queens fortunes. Here with an unexpected suddenness, Mr. *Gavin Dowglas* Uncle to the Earl of *Angus*, Bishop of *Dunkel*, Mr. *Patrick Panther* Secretary to the late King, were committed. Mr. *Gavin* in the Castle of St. *Andrews*, Mr. *Patrick* in *Garvet* Castle. The Lord *Drummond* grand-Father to the Earl of *Angus*, having beaten a Lyon Herauld, who too imperiously had given a charge to answer to such things should be objected against him, was imprisoned in the Castle of *Blackness*. *Alexander* Lord *Hume* being charged to answer for his actions and proceedings, and not appearing, was denounced Rebel, his moveables seised on and brought to the Exchequer, Stir'd up and irritated by this outrage, he maketh Roads upon the neighbour bounds, plunder-

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eth *Dumbar* which was the Governors chief reſort and to revenge his wrongs, ſetteth on work the Robbers on the borders. To repreſs and bridle this ravaging, the Governor in perſon with a thouſand hardy Souldiers marcheth to the Borders, directeth ſome companies to find out the Lord *Hume*; but he, either diſmaid at the worth and fortune of the Governor, or broken and bowing under the burthen of his own miſeries, cometh to the Governor and ſubmitted his life and eſtate to his faith and clemency: brought to *Edenburgh*, he is truſted to the cuſtody of *James* Earl of *Arran* the Husband of his Siſter, with threatnings under pain of high Treaſon, that he ſhould not part with him, nor ſuffer him to eſcape. The Lord *Hume* had not long ſtaid in the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, when with gloſſes of probalities of changes caſual, and ſuch as might fall forth, he moved the Earl of *Arran* to be of his Mind, and brought him to conſpire againſt the Governor, and hazard to put himſelf in his place of State. He himſelf was the only man who had brought in the Governor, and he knew well how to put him out, if the Earl would be of the Party, and by his negligence not reject a Supream honor thrown in his arms. He is begun already not to be lov'd, if he was not already hated by the Subjects by his imperious proceedings. If the King of *England* could find ſome few Noblemen to make head againſt him, he would conſtrain him to leave the Country. The Earl of *Arran* was neereſt heir to the King, it was more reaſon he ſhould be ſecond in the Kingdom than *John*, who though deſcended of a brother, yet a baniſht man, and a ſtranger to the *Scots* Nation, with whom had they not ſo much as intercourſe and familiarity of language. After many ſuch like inducements, the Priſoner took away his Keeper with him to the South parts of the Country:

and

and both by Letters to their Familiars, Kindred, and acquaintance, and private meetings with other Noble men ſtrove to make ſtrong and increaſe their faction.

In the beginning of the Spring *John Stuart* Earl of *Lennox*, the Siſters ſon of the Earl of *Arran*, liſted himſelf in the Party of the Conſpiring Lords, and with a number of his Friends and Followers inveſted the Caſtle of *Glaſgow*; which if they could have kept, had been a great advancement to their intentions. But the Governour gathering an Army of as many as haſt would ſuffer him to Aſſemble, the Defenders not being ſtrong enough to reſiſt him, recovered the Caſtle with ſmall loſs of his men. After which in indignation he marched to throw down the Caſtle of *Hamilton*; here victorious anger was conquer'd by pity and compaſſion: for the old Counteſs of *Arran* being at that time there reſident (who was Daughter to King *James* the Second, Siſter to King *James* the Third, Mother to the Earl of *Arran*, Gandmother to the Earl of *Lennox*, Aunt to the Governour) a Lady venerable for years and vertues, with tears of affection and ſorrow falling down at the Governours feet, and received by him with great commiſeration in a merciful manner, not only preſerv'd the Caſtle, but by the means of the Arch-Biſhop *Andrew Forman*, entred into a Treaty for Peace to her Son, and the Earl of *Lennox*. And in *November* the two Earls coming to *Edenburgh* by the means of this *Arch-biſhop* were reconciled with the Governor. About this time (his Mother being far from him to diſcharge the laſt duties of affection towards him) *Alexander* Duke of *Rothſay*, Brother to the King, a Child to admiration beautiful and Delightful, died at *Sterlin*, and was buried in the Abby Church of *Cambuskenneth*.

The term of Peace between the two Kingdoms being

ing almoſt expir'd, and both having a deſire to continue it, the *Engliſh* ſent their Commiſſioners to *Coldingham*, to whom the Duke, then reſident at *Dumbar*, ſent *Monſieur du Plains* Embaſſador for the *French* King, Sir *William Scot* of *Balweary*, and *Gavin Dumbar* Arch-Dean of Saint *Andrews*. Theſe after ſome altercation concerning the *Scottiſh* Fugitives, conclude a Peace between the Nations from the midſt of *January* till the feaſt of *Whitſuntide* after. The *Engliſh* comprehended in the Articles the Earl of *Anguſs*, the Lord *Hume*, and the reſt of the Queens ſtrayed Faction, with all their Kinſmen, Clients and Followers. The Lord *Hume* was received again into the Governours favor, with condition that if he after break his promiſes and oaths, his old faults ſhould be remembered and joined to his new. Maſter *Gavin Dowglaſs* and Mr. *Patrick Panther* were ſet at Liberty, The Lord *Drummond* who had been forfeited was again reſtored, the Earl of *Anguſs* with theſe who had followed him with many ceremonies, and great ſtore of Friendſhip, was welcomed again to the Court.

The Diſorders of the Kingdom called a Parliament, in which many acts were made to reſtrain and keep under bold and wicked men, and preſerve the peace of the Kingdom. In this Parliament it was Ordained, the Kings Brother *Alexander* being deceaſed, that the Governour ſhould be reputed ſecond Perſon of the Realm, and next heir to the Crown. Notwithſtanding of the claim made by *Alexander Stuart* the elder brother of the Governour, who was begotten on a Daughter of the Earl of *Orkenay*, to whom the Duke of *Albany* their Father had been lawfully joined in marriage before his coming to *France*, and thus before the marrying of the Earl of *Bulloignes* daughter the Mother of *John* the Governour, upon which ground *Alexander* had great reaſon

reaſon to make his claim and proteſtation as heir to his Father. Notwithſtanding of his challenge and bravado, *Alexander* being more fit for a Cowl than a Crown, in open Parliament gave over all Title he had to the Crown in his brothers favour. Whereupon to deprive him ever hereafter of lawfull Succeſſion, they turned him Prieſt, being made Biſhop of *Murray* and Abbot of *Skoon.*

A truce being ſincerely kept with *England* tumults within the Country appeaſed particular deadly fewds and jarres of private perſons either curbed or ſmothered up, the Governour giveth himſelf ſome weeks to his Courtly recreations at *Faulk-land*, with what paſtime ſoever he be delighted, or beguile the hours all the day long, in the night he is often haunted by his old familiar the Prior of *St. Andrews*, whom ambition, ſpight, malice never ſuffered to take any reſt.

This man put in the Governors head and made him believe, that his endeavours and pains heretofore would prove but vain in ſettling the Government, and that the peace of the Kingdom ſhould never be laſting, firm and permanent, if ſo dangerous a Subject as the Lord Chamberlain remained alive; whom neither rewards could ſoften, nor honours and preferment oblige and make conſtant. How many times had he been pardoned? How often and without a cauſe had he returned again to his former Conſpiracies? Should the Governour of his own free-will or of neceſſity be moved to return to *France*, what would not the boldneſs of this man attempt in his abſence, which his authority and preſence could never curb and keep within compaſs? the life of this man would be the death and total ruine of the Peace, of the concord and harmony of the State, bring forth nothing but dangerous and wicked effects; the violence

lence of ambition having pulled him from his own judgment. Should he be challenged and put to a tryal of his Peers. He could not ſhun the blow of Juſtice, the cry of his oppreſſion and wrongs having reached heaven: A member ſo often in vain cured and ſtill gangrened ſhould be cut off.

The Governour, whoſe Brains the Prior had now embrued with jealouſies, thought it no great matter upon the informations he had received to put the Chamberlain to a Tryal; for if he proved not guilty it would be but to leave him in that ſtate and caſe he was found in; and calumnies though they do not burn yet black. Being come to *Edenburgh* he appointed a convention of the Nobility, all which time he earneſtly trafficked with the Friends of the Lord Chamberlain that he ſhould not be abſent, the matters to be determined in Council concerning him nearly, and he had need of his advice and council.

The Court and City being full of whiſperings and expectation of ſome ſudden change, many diſſuadeth the Chamberlain from appearing; if he appeared, that he would leave his Brother Maſter *William* (a man equal in judgment and courage to himſelf) behind. He, trained into falſe hopes by the blandiſhments of the Governour towards his friends, and inveigled by preſumption, with his Brother, and (Sir *Andrew* called by the Country Lord) *David Car* of *Farnehaſt* cometh to Court, where they were with many ceremonies welcomed by the Governour, with more than ordinary favours entertained, and ſhortly after all three impriſoned, produced in judgment to anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be objected againſt them according to the Laws of the Kingdom, and ſubmitted to the Sentence of a Jury. No new crime was laid to their charge, *James* Earl of *Murray* the natural Son of the late King, accuſed the Chamberlain

lain of the death of his Father; who by many witneſſes was proved alive, and ſeen to come from the Battel of *Flowden*: This by pregnant evidences not being proved, he was indicted of divers other points of Treaſon, and his private faults are found out and laid againſt him: they renew the memory of the late ſtirs of State and theſe diſorders, of which he was either the Author or accceſſary to them. He had favoured and maintained the Factions, Thefts and Robberies of wicked Malefactors on the Borders: he had not honourably nor honeſtly carryed himſelf at the Battel of *Flowden*, performing neither the duty of a Soldier nor Commander. He had ſuffered the *Engliſh* to repair and of new fortifie the Caſtle of *Norham*, which without either trouble to himſelf or danger to his Friends, he might have hindred. Of every of which points and particularities he not clearly juſtifying himſelf, the Judges prepared and directed by the Governor (whom they record to have given information of a hainous crime committed by the Chamberlain and his brother, for the odiouſneſs of it not to be revealed to the people) pronounce him and his Brother guilty, and condemn them to have their Heads cut off. The day following the ſentence was put in execution, and their heads fixt on the moſt eminent part of the Town of *Edenburgh*. *David Car* of *Farnhaſt*, either by the Jury, being declared not guilty (as ſome have recorded) or by the Corrupting of his Keepers (as others) or by the permiſſion of the Governor, eſcap'd this danger; which brought the People to believe the Chamberlain was by his means entrapped, *To ſink, whom he put himſelf in hazard of drowning.*

This Calamity of the family of the *Humes*, being ſo ancient, potent and couragious, bred terrour and aſtoniſhment in many of the other Noblemen of the Kingdom,

Kingdom, and eſtranged their Hearts form the Governour; his ears began to be after attentive to every rumour, and his eyes pryed into each accident; at laſt, as if he were wearied with wreſtling with the many diſorders, and cumberſome Factions of the Country, he ſought how by ſome fair way he might for a while return to *France*. Embaſſadours being ſent from King *Francis* to *Scotland* to renew the ancient League between the two Nations, when the Nobles aſſembled to make choice of the man on whom they ſhould transfer the honour of the accompliſhment of ſo ſolemn an action and paſs to *France*, the Governour carryed the matter ſo by means of the *French*, that it was conferred on himſelf, but with this condition (to entertain them with hopes of his Return) that he ſhould not ſtay above ſix Months out of the Country; Having obtained this privileged abſence of them, his next care was to preſerve the State from any alterations till his Return, and to find the Government as he left it. Hereupon to preſerve the Perſon of the King, he is conveyed from *Sterlin* to the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, and truſted to the cuſtody of the Earl of *Marſhall*, the Lords *Ruthen* and *Borthick*, two of which ſhould be always reſident with him, and accompany and aſſiſt the Lord *Areskin* his conſtant and unremovable Guardian. For the Government of the State he leaveth ſeven Deputies in his Place, The Earl of *Arran*, *Anguſs*, *Huntley*, *Arguile*, the Arch-Biſhops of St. *Andrews* and *Glaſgow*; to theſe is adjoined Sir *Anthony Darcey le Sieur de la Beautie*, whom he had made Captain of *Dumbar*, and promoted to be in the Lord *Humes* Place, Warden of the Eaſt Marches, keeping the days of Truce and Juſtice Courts. This was the man to whom the entire Conduct of all the Governours affairs was intruſted, and who ſhould give him advertiſment of what did paſs

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in *Scotland*, during his aboed in *France*. That no diſcord ſhould ariſe amongſt men equal in places and authority (the ordinary occaſion of diviſion) ſeveral ſhires which they ſhould govern to every one of them are allotted. To Sir *Anthony Darcey* was deſtinated the Government of the *Merſs* and *Lothian*; to the other their ſhires were appointed as the convenience of their dwelling places, Friends and Kindred did afford them. Under pretexts and fair colours of honour, and as to paſs the time, and be trained in *French* Civility, alſo for the greater magnificency, the Governour took in his company the Earl of *Lennox*, the Lord *Gordon*, Maſters of *Glencarn* and *Arran*, other young Lords; who in effect were ſo many Hoſtages, that no ſtir by their Parents, Kindred, Friends, ſhould be raiſed during his abſence. He likewiſe under dark Shadows and far ſought pretences committed to ſuch Caſtles as were garriſoned with *French* Soldiers, as *Dumbarton*, *Dumbar*, *Garvet*, certain Barons of the South and Weſt Countries, who wanted nothing but liberty, not for any thing they had done, but what they might do the Governour being out of the Kingdom. Matters brought to ſuch a paſs as his beſt Politicians could deviſe, accompanied with Maſter *Gavin Dowglaſs* Biſhop of *Dunkell*, and Maſter *Patrick Panther* Secretary to the late King, men whom he feared to leave behind him, and entertained (though he knew they loved him not) as his boſom friends, in *June* at *Dumbartoun* he took Shipping.

Queen *Margaret* after ſhe had remained a year in *England* underſtanding by Letters the Governour had taken the Seas, and was on his way towards *France*, honourably diſmiſſed by her Brother came to *Scotland*. At *Berwick* ſhe was received by her Husband the Earl of *Anguſs*; but he was not accepted with the favours he was wont; for that plague of too much love

(jealouſie) had infected her, having gotten ſome inkling that he delighted in a free bed, and during the time of her abode in *England* had entertained a Miſtreſs in *Dowglaſs*-dale, an injury beyond degree of Reconcilement, after which ſhe began to diſdain him, and ſeek how ſhe might be divorced from him. *Though whilſt the King was kept in the Caſtle of* Edenburgh *all acceſs unto him was refuſed her, when he was tranſported to the Caſtle of* Craigmillar, *out of a ſuſpition and rumour the Plague had infected* Edenburgh, *by the courteſie of the Lord* Areskin, *ſhe had liberty to viſit him, But her frequent haunting him out of too much motherly kindneſs, breeding a ſuſpition in his Guardians, that, as had once before been practiſed by a Queen in* Scotland, *She had an intention to have ſtoln him away and ſent him to his Uncle, reſtrained her longer acceſs to him, and procured his return back again to the Caſtle of* Edenburgh.

Sir *Anthony Darcey* having by his vigilancy, pains, courage, given many proofs of his worth in defence of the Borders, and adminiſtration of Juſtice in thoſe ſhires he governed; The other Governours, often diſagreeing amongſt themſelves, either out of Love of reſt, and to be vacant from buſineſs, or out of malice to procure him greater hatred, declare him abſolute Deputy: and they gave their promiſes to ſecond him in way of Juſtice: and here he found the difference between extreams and mediocrities. Many diſdained a Stranger ſhould be in that place, ſo many brave men of their Nation neglected. A quarrel at that time, either true and real, or (as others have recorded) altogether forged and contriv'd to draw the Deputy in a Danger, ariſing between the Stewards of the Laird of *Langtoun*, and one of his Uncles, who by the power and means of Sir *David Hume* of *Wedderburn*, whoſe Siſter was his wife, had thruſt out and ejected the

the young heir and them, of their own Caſtle of *Langtoun*, and kept it by force. The Deputy accompanyed with certain Lords of the Borders, and ſome *French* men his own Domeſticks came to the Town of *Dunce*, to hold a Juſtice Court concerning this Riot. The *Humes*, who thought nothing juſter than revenge, nor nobler than the effects of anger, having ſworn a requital of their Chiefs wrong, and to pay the Governour home when occaſion ſhould be offered, by the counſel and forwardneſs of Sir *David Hume*, lay an ambuſh, and lie in wait for the Deputy; the Plot not failing, they invade him at ſuch a diſadvantage, that ſome of his Servants killed, he was conſtrained to ſeek an eſcape by the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe, who in the chaſe either falling or ſinking in a mariſh, left his Maſter to the cruelty of his Purſuers, who ſtrook of his head, and to feed their eyes with the ſpectacle of their rage, ſet it to the diſgrace of the *French* on the battlements of the Caſtle of *Hume*. This end had Sir *Anthony Darcey* who deſerved ſo well both of *France* and *Scotland*, having been courteous, valiant, and noble in all his actions, and a great Adminiſtrator of Juſtice, who ſpared no travel, and freely adventured upon any dangers to ſuppreſs malefactors, and defend the weak and innocent.

The Governours, That greater miſchief ſhould not follow the boldneſs of theſe men, made choice of the Earl of *Arran* to reſiſt their outrage, and declare him Warden of the Marches and Supream. Which election diſpleaſed the Earl of *Anguſs*; the Earl of *Arran* armed with power, neglecting *Anguſs* his intereſt, immediately committed Sir *George Dowglas* his Brother to the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, and *Mark Car* in *Garvet* Caſtle, out of a ſuſpition they were acceſſory to the ſlaughter of Sir *Anthony Darcey*. In a Parliament ſhortly following many of the *Humes*,

and Cockburns Fugitives for this ſlaughter, and for that they had invited the *Engliſh* to their aid and ſpoil of the Country, are declared Rebels. The Parliament being diſſolved, the Earl of *Arran* with a ſufficient number of Soldiers, and ſome great Ordinance, beſieged the Caſtles of *Hume* and *Langtoun*, and had h em rendred to his mercy.

When the accident of Sir *Anthony Darcey* was noiſed at the Court of *France*, King *Francis* is recorded to have ſaid he never looked for better at the hands of the *Scots*, and that the Duke of *Albany* ſhould have deputed men of their own nation to have governed them, and not a ſtranger, being a people delighting in Miſgovernment, ever well pleaſed at the Falls and tragical ends of their Rulers, and joying to ſee any hard hap happen to them they deem happy.

The Biſhop of *Dunkell* who had accompanied the Governour to *France*, uſed ſuch diligence at the Court, that he was imployed to be the firſt Meſſenger to the Country of the great promiſes and many Ceremonies of the *French*, at the confirmation of the League, with their proteſtations for the preſerving and maintaining the Liberties of the Kingdom of *Scotland* againſt all who would eſſay to empair them. Not long after arrived the Earl of *Lennox* and an Herauld with Letters from King *Francis* and the Governour, amplifying and putting a larger gloſs on the ſame. But when by other Letters the Queen and Nobles had received certain intelligence that King *Francis* and the King of *England* had compoſed their Quarrels, entred in a new band of Amity a defenſive League being paſſed between them, *Tournay* rendred to the *French*, promiſes upon either ſide ſolemnly made for a Match to be between the Daulphine of *France*, eldeſt ſon to King *Francis*, and the eldeſt daughter of *Henry* King of *England*. when

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age ſhould enable them for marriage; and that in the large Treaty of Peace, not one word was ſet down for the quietneſs and help of thoſe who for the quarrel of *France* haſt loſt their King, and endangered their whole Kingdom; no care had of their welfare and proſperity, they ſtormed not a little, and thought their lives and travels evil imployed. Then with as great haſt as ſuch a matter required they diſpatched Letters back again to the Governour blotted with complaints and expoſtulations. The year following to exeuſe his overſight, the *French* King ſent a *Reaſon* why he had not made mention of the *Scottiſh* nation in his league with *England*, He had ſtudied to give ſatisfaction to ſome of the *Scottiſh* Nobility (obliquely touching the Duke of *Albany*) whoſe minds he knew to be altogether averſe from any peace or Truce with the *Engliſh* nation; whoſe undaunted Spirits and great courages were only bent to revenge the deaths of their King, Kinſmen and Compations. This evaſion not giving ſatisfaction to the beſt adviſed of the Council, the *French* King interpoſed his endeavours with King *Henry* to have a ceſſation of arms for as ſhort a time as he could deviſe. Whereupon *Clarencieux* and one *la Fiot*, coming to *Scotland*, the one from the King of *England*, the other from the *French* King, a Truce was concluded between the two Kingdoms for one year and a whole day: The reaſon of this Truce was thought moſtly to be, for that the Kings of *England* and *France*, the next Summer, were to have an interview, and with all Princely courteſies entertain each other.

The Kingdom began to be ſenſible of the abſence of the Governour, factions increaſing, the Commons ſuffering dayly outrages, the Nobility and Gentry deciding their Rights by their Swords. The Earl of *Rothſay* and the Lord *Lindſay* contending which

ſhould be Sheriff of *Fyfe*, with tumultuary arms invade each other, and hardly by the Deputies were reſtrain'd, till the one was committed to the Caſtle of *Dumbar*, and the other to the Caſtle of *Dumbartoun*. *Robert Blackadour* Prior of *Coldingham*, with ſix of his Domeſtick Servants is killed by the Laird of *Wedderburn*. The King out of a ſuſpition that the plague was in *Edenburgh*, being tranſported to the Caſtle of *Dalkieth* by the Convey of the Earl of *Arran*, who was then Provoſt of the Town, it being the ſeaſon when the Townſmen make election of their Magiſtrates for the year following; when the Earl was returned and ſought to enter the Town, he found the Gates ſhut upon him by the Citizens, who alledged he came to invade their liberties in the free choice of their Magiſtrates: the tumult continueth the moſt part of the night, and the next morning early the people dividing in factions, and skirmiſhing in the ſtreets, a Deacon of the *Crafts* is killed by the faction of the *Hamiltons*, which alienated the minds of the Townſmen altogether from the Earl of *Arran*, and made them encline to the Earl of *Anguſs* ſome of whoſe friends and followers had reſcued ſome of the Citizens, and taken part with others; which made many after conceive this diſcord was plotted by ſome Noblemen enemies to the Earl of *Arran*, amongſt which the Earl of *Anguſs* was the chief.

After this tumult the Earl of *Anguſs* and *Arran* ſought likewiſe to croſs each other in their proceedings: the one maintaining the enemies of the other: who had a quarrel againſt the Earl *Arran* the Earl of *Anguſs* befriended him, as the Earl of *Arran* ſupported and ſided thoſe who had any diſcontent againſt Earl of *Anguſs*. A ſuit falling between the Earl of *Anguſs* and *David Car* Laird of *Farnehaſt* about the Ballywick of *Jedbrough* Forreſt, the Lands appertained to

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the Earl; the Title and power to sit Judge belonged to the Lairds of *Farnehaſt*; *Sir James Hamilton* the natural Son of the Earl of *Arran* assisted the Laird of *Farnehaſt*; and besides those who out of good will, friendship, kindred, vassalage, did follow him, he gathered fourty Souldiers such as were found upon the Borders, men living upon Spoil and rapine, to be of his party. The Laird of *Cesfoord* (then Warden of the Marches) who with his Counsel and Force sided the Earl of *Anguſs*, at the Rumour of the approach of Sir *James* to *Jedbrough*, encountreth him, and his fourty Hirelings abandoning him in his greatest danger, *Cesfoord* killing some of his followers brought to make use of his spurs towards the Castle of *Hume*, where after a long chase he got Sanctuary. The day following the Laird of *Farnehaſt* held a Court in the Town of *Jedbrough*, as Baily to the Earl of *Anguſs*, and the Earl himself kept his Court three miles distant in *Jed-ward* Forrest. In the month of *May* after, certain Noblemen assembled at *Edenburgh* to accommodate all quarrels, and make an atonement between the *Dowglasses* and *Hamiltons*. Many Lords of the West here meet, attending the Earl of *Arran*, the Earls of *Lennox*, *Eglintoun*, *Cassiles*, the Lords *Roſs*, *Simple*, the *Bishop of Galloway*, *Abbot of Pasley*. The *Provost* of the Town of *Edenburgh Archembald Dowglas of Kilspyndie*, Uncle or Cousen Germain to the Earl of *Anguſs*, yielded up his place to *Robert Logan* Laird of *Restlerig*. The Lords of the West by the advice of *James Beatoun* Chancellour (in whose House they often assembled) laid a plot to surprize the Earl of *Anguſs*, then attended but by some few of his Friends, and as it were solitary, they thought him too great and insolent a Subject, to whose power never one of theirs alone, was equal in all points, and they had many

things to challenge him upon when the Governour, ſhould return. The Earl of *Anguſs*, forewarned of their intention, imployed the Biſhop of *Dunkell* his Uncle to offer them what honourable ſatisfaction they could require. All that he propounded being rejected by implacable men, and finding the only way to be freed of violence, to be violent, and that danger could not be avoyded but by a greater danger, with an hundred hardy reſolute men armed with long Spears and Pikes, which the Citizens as he traverſed the Streats, out of Windows furniſhed him, he inveſted a part of the Town, and barricadoed ſome Lanes with Carts and other impediments which the time did affrad. The adverſe party truſting to their number, and the ſupply of the Citizens (who calling to mind the ſlaughter of their Deacon, ſhew them ſmall favour) diſdaining the Earl ſhould thus muſter on the Streats, in great fury invade him. Whilſt the bickering continued, and the Town is in a Tumult, *William Dowglaſs* brother to the Earl of *Anguſs*, Sir *David Hume* of *Wedderburn*, *George Hume* brother to the late Lord, with many others by blood and Friendſhip tyed together, enter by violence the Eaſt Gate of the *Town* (the Citizens making ſmall reſiſtance) force their paſſage through the throngs, ſeek the Earls enemies, find them, ſcoure the ſtreets of them. The Maſter of *Montgomery* eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Eglintoun*, Sir *Patrick Hamiltoun*, Brother to the Earl of *Arran*, with almoſt fourſcore more are left dead upon the place. The Earl himſelf findeth an eſcape and place of retreat through a Marſh upon the North ſide of the Town; The Chancellour and his retinue took Sanctuary in the *Dominican* Fryers; the tumult by the ſlaughter of ſome, and flight of others appeaſed, the Earl of *Anguſs* now freed of danger

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licenſed all who pleaſed without further purſuit peaceably to leave the Town of *Edenburgh*, and return to their own Houſes. Some daies after the *Humes* well banded and backed with many Nobles and Gentlemen of their linage by the Earl of *Anguſs* conſent, took the Lord *Humes* and his brothers heads from the place where they had been fixt, and with the funeral Rites of thoſe times interr'd them in the *Black-Fryers*.

The Earl of *Anguſs* having angled the Peoples hearts by his Magnificence; Wiſdom, Courage and Liberality, his Faction began to bear greateſt ſway in the Kingdom. For the continuance of which, the King of *England* dealt moſt earneſtly with the *French* King to keep the Duke of *Albany* ſtill in *France* with him. But the *French* had contrary deſigns. And when the Duke underſtood the great diſcords of the Nobility of *Scotland*, perſons of Faction being advanced to places, dangerous immunities being granted to the Commons, *France* and *England* beginning to be tyred of their Peace, and preparing for a new War: to curb the *Scottiſh* Factions, keep the Nation in quietneſs in it ſelf, by giving the Subjects other Work abroad, whilſt common danger ſhould break off particular Diſcords. Notwithſtanding of the *Engliſh* Ships which lay in wait to take him, after he had been about five years in *France*, in *November* he arrived on the Weſt Coaſts of *Scotland* at a place named *Garloch*. The Governour coming to *Edenburgh*, ſet himſelf to amend the enormities committed in his abſence; the Magiſtrates of the Town are depoſed, becauſe in the late uproar they had been evil ſeconds to the Lords of the Weſt, when they went to ſurpriſe the Earl of *Anguſs*. A Parliament is called, to which many Noblemen and Gentlemen are cited to make appearance

rance in *February* to be tryed, and to anſwer for offences committed by them in the Governours abſence. The appointed time being come, theſe who appeared not, were Indicted, and fled into *England*. Amongſt which, and the chief, were the *Humes* and *Cockburns*, men Authors and acceſſory to the death of Sir *Anthony Darcy*. The tyde now turning, and mens affections changed, the Earl of *Anguſs*, with his Brother Sir *George Dowglaſs*, by the Interceſſion of the Queen, are conſtrained to ſeek a Pardon: which was obtained for them, but with the condition that they ſhould leave the Country, and ſtay in *France* one whole year, which they obeyed. Others have Recorded, they were ſurprized in the Night, and in *French* Ships conveyed privately away. Mr. *Gavin Dowglaſs* Biſhop of *Dunkell*, in the abſence of his Nephew, finding the Governour violent in the Chaſe of the Faction of the *Dowglaſſes*, fled privately to the Court of *England*, where he gave informations to King *Henry* againſt him. *He alone had taken to him the cuſtody of the young King, the ſequel whereof he much feared; he was an irreconcilable Enemy to the whole Family of the* Dowglaſſes *The principal cauſe of his coming to* Scotland *was to engage the Nation in a War againſt* England, *that the* Engliſh *ſhould not aſſiſt the Emperour againſt the* French *King, and make his Nation ſlaves to* France.

This Biſhop ſhortly after dyed at *London*, and was buried in the *Savoy* Church: having been a man Noble, Valiant, Learned, and an excellent Poet, as his Works, yet extant, teſtifie.

The King of *England* upon ſuch informations ſent *Clarencieux* (King of Arms) to *Scotland* to require the Duke to avoid the Country, according to the Articles agreed upon between the *French* King and him in their laſt Truce.

It belonged (ſaid Clarencieux) *to his Maſter to tender the life, wellfare, honour, fortunes of his Nephew, of none of which he could be aſſured ſo long as the Duke ruled and ſtayed in* Scotland. *It was againſt all reaſon, and unbeſeeming, the man ſhould be ſole Guardian to a King, who was the next heir to the Crown: how eaſily might he be tempted by opportunity to commit the like unnatural cruelty which ſome have done in the like caſe both in* England *and other parts of* Europe? *if he loved his Nation and Prince* (*as he gave out*) *he required him to leave the Country, which if he yield not unto, but obſtinately continued in a reſolution to ſtay, he denounced from his Maſter preſent war.* He farther complained, *That the Earl of* Anguſs, *who was King* Henries *Brother-in-Law, was by him baniſht and detained in* France; *That during the baniſhment of the Earl, which had been near a whole year, the Duke had importuned his Siſter the Queen with diſhoneſt love.*

The Governour anſwered *Clarencieux*, *That what the Kings of* France *and* England *agreed upon in their Treaties of Peace was to him uncertain, but of this he was moſt certain, That neither the King of* England *nor* France *had power to baniſh him* (*a Foreiner over whom their authority did not reach*) *his native Country, like, over like having no juriſdiction.*

As concerning the King of Scotland, *who was yet young in years he reverenced him as his Soveraign Lord, and would keep and defend both him and his Kingdom according to his Conſcience, honour, and bound duty; that there were ever more men in the world who deſired to be Kings, than there were Kingdoms to be beſtowed upon them, of which number he was none, having ever preferred a mean eſtate juſtly enjoyed, before a Kingdom evil acquired. For the Earl of* Anguſs, *he had uſed all Courteſies towards*

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him notwithſtanding of his evil demerits, not for his own ſake (he did confeſs) but for the Queens ſake, whom he honoured and reſpected as the Mother of his Prince, and towards whom he ſhould continue his Obſervance. That the King of England *needed not miſdoubt he would attempt any thing, ſhould derogate from the honour of his Siſter, that complements of meer courteſie in* France, *might be ſurmiſed ſometimes by* Engliſh *Ladies to be ſolicitations and ſuits of Love. For the War, with which in caſe of his ſtay, he threatned his nation, he would uſe his beſt endeavours to ſet his in a poſture of Defence.*

When this anſwer was reported to King *Henry*, he gathered a great Army to invade *Scotland*, and eſſay if by their own dangers the *Scots* people could be moved to abandon and diſclaim the Dukes authority. Seven great Ships came to *Inche-keeth* and ſpoiled the adjacent Coaſts: all the *Scots* and *French* which did them inhabite *London*, and other places of *England*, were put ot their fines, and commanded to go off the Country.

In compenſation and for equal amends, the *French* King ſeized all *Engliſh* mens goods in *Bourdeaux*, impriſoned the perſons, and retained the money to be paid for the reſtitution of *Tournay* The Earl of *Shrewsbury* making incurſions on the Borders, burned the one half of *Kelſo*, and plundered the other.

At this time the Emperor *Charles* the fifth came to *England*, and ſtirred King *Henry* to take arms againſt the *French* King; and the *French* had ſent Embaſſadours to *Scotland* intreating and conjuring the *Scots* by their old and new League to ariſe in arms and invade *England*. The Governour aſſembled the three Eſtates at *Edenburgh*, which together condeſcended to the raiſing of an Army to reſiſt the incurſions of the *Engliſh* and defend the Kingdom,

dom, to encourage every man for fighting, the Wards of those which should fall in this expedition, were freely remitted and discharged by Act of Parliament, and pensions designed to the Widdows and Daughters of those who dyed in this service. This Empyrick balm could the *French* apply to cure the wounds of the *Scottish* Commonwealth.

The Earl of *Shrewsbury* advancing (as was reported) towards the west Borders, an Army was far gathered and encamped on *Roſline-moor*, which after, according to the orders given, marched to *Annandale* and forwards, came to the *Esk*, a River running in the Irish Seas neer *Carlile*; the Governour delighted with the Seat and standing of the place, caused dig Trenches, and by the advice of certain *French* Gunners placed some Field Pieces, and small Ordinance for defence of them, and spread there his Pavilions. The Citizens of *Carlile* terrified at the sudden approach of so powerful an Army, offer many presents for the safety of their Towns which he rejected. The English Army not minding to invade the Scots so long as they kept themselves on their own ground and advanced not, the Governour endeavoured to make the *Scots* spoil the Country by incursions, but he findeth them slack and unwilling to obey and follow him, most part refusing to go upon *English* Ground, amongst whom *Alexander* Lord *Gordon* was the chief and first man. The Governour finding his command neglected, and some Noble men dissenting from what he most intended, cometh back to the place where they made their stand, and desires a reason of their stay. They told him, they had determined to defend their own Country, not invade *England*. That it neither consisted with the weal of the Commonwealth, nor as matters went at that time

time, had they ſufficient forces to make invaſive War That the Governour did not inſtigate them to invade *England* for the love he carryed to *Scotland*, but for a benefit to the *French*, by invading they might make themſelves a prey to their enemies; they were Men and not Angels; it was enough for them whilſt their King was under age to defend his Kingdom from the violence of Foreigners. Put the caſe they were in one battel victorious, conſidering the ſlaughter and loſs of their Nobles and Gentry in that purchaſe, they might be overthrown in a ſecond fight, and then to what would the King and Country be reduced? their laſt King might ſerve them for a pattern, the Revenge of whoſe death ſhould be delayed till he himſelf were of years to undertake it.

The Governour brought to an exigent, ſaid they ſhould have propounded theſe difficulties before they took Arms, and not on the place of Battel. Temerity misbecame Noblemen in action, but eſpecially in matters of War, in which a man cannot err twice. At the convention of the three Eſtates when war was in deliberation, they ſhould have inquired for the cauſes of it; he was not to bring them upon the danger of a war without their own conſent. The *Engliſh* had made many incurſions, upon their Country, burning and ravaging: who ſtand only upon defence, ſtand upon no defence; a better defence of their own Country could not be found than by invading the Country of their Enemies. They ſhould not be dejected for that accident at *Flowden*, ſince it was not the fault of the Souldier, but the Treaſon of their Chamberlain who had ſuffered for it. That the glory of the Nation ſhould raiſe their courages, and inflame their boſoms with a deſire of revenge: The Kings honour and

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their piety towards the Ghosts of their Compatriots, craved no less from them. That if they would not invade *England*, at least, for their Reputation and Fame with the World, they would pitch there a short time their Tents, and try if the *English* would hazard to assail them. That it would be an everlasting branding their honour, if timorously in a suddenness they show their backs to their enemies, and dared them not in the face by some daies stay.

The Queen, though absent, had thus persuaded the Noblemen, and having understood the Governour to be turned now flexible, she dispatched a Post to him, requesting he would be pleased with a Truce for some Months, and that he would commune with the Warden of the *English* Marches, whom she should move to come to his Tent and treat with him. The Governour finding he stood not well assured of some of his Army, and knowing what a cumbersome task it was to withstand the the violence of their desires, determined to follow their own current: seemed well pleased to hearken to their opinion. Hereupon the Lord *Dacres* Warden of the West Marches came unto the Governours Camp the eleventh of *September* (and as some have recorded, the Queen also) where a Cessation of Arms was agreed unto for some daies, in which time the Queen and the Governour should send Embassadours to treat for a Peace with King *Henry*, and shortly after, Embassadours were directed to the Court of *England*, but returned without any good done, King *Henry* demanding extraordinary and harmful conditions to the Realm of *Scotland*.

The year 1522. *Andrew Forman* Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews*, dyed, and *James Beatoun* Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow* and *Chancellour* of the Kingdom came

came in his place of St. *Andrews*, the ArchBiſhoprick of *Glaſgow* was conferred upon *Gavin Dumbar* whom the King after advanced to be Chancellor of the Kingdom.

The Governour reſenting highly the ſlighting of the Embaſſadours by the King of *England*, but more the contempt and ſcorn of the *Scottiſh* Nobility in refuſing to follow him, in *October* by the Weſt Seas paſt over to *France*, promiſing that if a peace in this mean time were not concluded with *England*, he would the next Summer bring ſuch War-like Briggades of *French* and *Germans*, that he ſhould not ſtand much in need of his own Countrymen, who had continued ſo refractory and backward to his deſigns. He demanded from King *Francis* five thouſand *German* Horſemen, and ten thouſand foot to be tranſported to *Scotland*: which with the *Scots* who would accompany him, he thought ſufficient to continue a War with *England*. The *French* could not ſpare ſo many men, having Wars both with the *Emperour* and the *Engliſh*, but they gave him three thouſand Pikes, and one thouſand Launces. The Governour intending to return to *Scotland*, receiving intelligence that the Ports towards the coaſts of *France* were watched by the *Engliſh* to intrap him in his paſſage, beſtowed his Ships ſo covertly here and there in ſmall companies to avoid all ſuſpition of any purpoſe he had to ſtir that year, as that thereupon the *Engliſh* Fleet under the Conduct of Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, which had attended and waited his coming forth, until the Midſt of *Auguſt*, brake up & beſtowed themſelves in convenient Ports againſt the next ſpring. The Duke then watching opportunity, and readily gathering together his diſperſed Ships, to the number of ſome fifty Sail, imbatked his men at *Breſt* in *Bretaign* the

the one and twenty of *September*, and landed at *Kirkowbry*, or the Isle of *Arran*, in the West of *Scotland*. In his company was *Richard de la Pool* who had been banished *England*, and to his power faithfully assisted the Governour. He arrived the same time that *Jedbrough* was burnt by the *English*; for *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey* high Admiral of *England*, the Marques of *Dorset* and his Brother, with a competent power entring *Scotland* had burnt many Towns, and overthrown Castles and Piles.

At his coming the Duke assembled the Lords at *Edenburgh*, where they agreed that an Army should forthwith be gathered, and the 28. of *October* was appointed for their meeting at *Douglass-dale*. At the day prefixt the Army marched towards *Coldstream* upon the *Tweed*. Out of this Army the Governour having selected a number of the hardiest Souldiers of *Scots* and *French*, and convoying some Artillery over the water under the command of *David Car* of *Farnehast*, on the last of *October* they besieged the Castle of *Wark*, which was defended by *Edward Lile* or *Lisle*. The Assailants upon the outmost Ward continuing their Battery, entred by main force the second Ward, but being there repulsed and beaten back, a great Tempest arising, and fearing the swelling of the River of *Tweed* might cut them off from their Army on the other side, they turned back and repassed the Water; the Report of the Earl of *Surreys* forces come to rescue the Castle and lying at *Anwick*, had also perplexed them not a little; the Earl of *Surrey* at his approach finding the Enemy retired to the other side of the River, the Castle safe, and having no Commission to pass the *English* marches, or to invade *Scotland*, made no further pursuit. In the mean time the Queen who had ever sought to make firm friendship

with her Brother, and break the amity of *France* ſent to him to yield to a ceſſation of War, hoping in that time to work ſome agreement between the two Nations. Whereunto the King conſenting, the Governour finding the *Scottiſh* Lords averſe to his intentions, that he was this time ſerved as he had been before (they refuſing ſtill to enter upon *England*) and that ſtriving would but the more chafe them, alſo condeſcended. Thus a Truce was promiſed, and faithful peace concluded till the laſt of *November*, being the Feaſt of *St. Andrews*; the Winter paſt without any invaſion of the *Engliſh* on *Scotland*, or the *Scots* on *England*.

During the time of this Truce many ſerious conſultations were amongſt the Lords of *Scotland* whether it were more fit to continue this War, or give it over. Many of them held it unreaſonable that for the only pleaſure of the *French* King the Realm of *Scotland* ſhould ſuffer any more damage by the Continuning of ſo needleſs a War, and that the Duke of *Albany* was alwaies ſet to perform what the *French* deſired not what was expedient for the *Scottiſh* Nation, nor what was in their poſſibility to accompliſh. Wherefore they wiſhed that their young King now having attained ſome years of diſcretion, and paſſing the age of a Child, might bear ſome ſway in the Government of the Realm. Some argued that a King ſooner than the Sons of Noblemen went out of the bondage of Tutelage, and enjoyed greater immunities, his age often being reckoned from the time of his conception. That the adminiſtration and charge of the Kingdom ſhould early be given him, that he might with his years grow in the art of Governing; Since we find the ſame to be uſual in the perfection of other arts and Sciences. Others entertained other thoughts, That to a child who could

could not by the weakneſs of his judgment diſcern Right from Wrong, the Helm of State ſhould not be truſted, and that the Peers of the Kingdom might be challeng'd of dotage by their Neighbor Countreys for giving to a Child the Sword of Juſtice, which he might thruſt in their own entrails one day or wound therewith the boſom of the Commonwealth.

The Governour finding the Lords divided amongſt themſelves, and their reaſons averſe to his intentions, and that not only the people, but the Souldiery were weary of him, and had bent their affections upon their young King, fooliſhly preferring the ignorance and ſimplicity of a child to his prudency, experience, and long practice of State, requeſted them to give him leave to return to *France*, and to forgive him any errour he had committed, which he proteſted was of ignorance not of malice. Having from men diſtaſted with him, without any oppoſition, obtained what he required, far from any outward ſhew of inward diſcontentment, or diſquieting himſelf at the ingratitude of ſome whom he had advanced to Honors. he came to *Sterlin*, where after ſome days ſtay with the King, when he had given him ſuch inſtructions of State, as he was able to underſtand (for he was but then in the thirteenth year of his Age) with many tokens of love, and demonſtrations of ſincere affection he took his leave of him: and his Ships attending his paſſage on the Weſt, with a great retinue of *Scots* and *French*, he held his way towards them, and recommended himſelf to the Sea in the Spring time, now the third time for *France*, after which he return'd not at all into *Scotland*.

He was a Prince adorned with many Virtues, Active, Couragious, Reſolute, and knew how to uſe them as they are.

If he had not been oppoſed by the Queen and Nobility, he was likely to have loſt himſelf and the v hole Kingdom, or revenged the death of his Couſen.

His courteous nature went above his ambition; he could as well lay down his Honours, as he had modeſtly, when they were laid upon him, received them,

Before the Rumor of the Duke of *Albanies* taking the Seas was ſpread abroad, the King of *England* by ſecret Letters had required the Earl of *Anguſs*, who then an Exile ſtaid in *France*, to come to him; after the receit of which, with a ſhort leave taking he left *France*, where he had ſtaid almoſt three years, cometh to *England*; King *Henry* had brought him to believe. *That the Duke had determined to extirpate his whole Linnage: To prevent which he made him offer of Men and Ammunition to preſerve his own, and by his faction at home, and his aſſiſtance, to ſend the Duke over Seas; which if he had ſtaied, the Earl was eſteemed powerful enough to have accompliſhed*

The Duke of *Albany* being in *France*, the Queen with the Government of the State, aſſumeth the perſon of her Son, whom ſhe moved to leave *Sterlin* and come to *Edenburgh*; the third day after he had made his entry in the Town ſhe lodg'd with him in the *Maiden Caſtle*, and it ſeized on, armed with authority, ſhe doubted not to make the Country yield her all obedience. That the Supream Magiſtrate of the Town ſhould not oppoſe her Deſigns he is put from his Office, and the Lord *Maxwell* (a man to her obſequious) is ſubſtituted in his place.

To give the fairer luſtre to her Actions, a Parliament is called at *Edenburgh*, that what ſhe did, might conſiſt with Law.

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When King *Henry* understood the Duke had left *Scotland*, to exclude and bar him all regress, he sent one *Magnus*, a great Oratour, but greater by the renown of his skill in the Laws, with *Roger Ratcliff*, his Embassadours, to try how the *Scots*, amidst unnecessary turmoils, would relish a Truce and Cessation of Arms: and these lay the blame of all the disorders and discords between the two Nations upon the Duke; The Nobles tyred with their tedious Wars, beginning to espy a Haven of rest, cheerfully accept of this Embassie, and agree unto a Truce for one whole year. To confirm which they condescend Commissioners shall be dispatched instantly, who shall treat not only for a Truce, but for a firm and lasting Peace between the two Nations, and unite the Crowns in bands of Amity, as well as they were united in degrees of blood.

The Earl of *Angus*, his enemy abandoning the Kingdom, after honourable entertainment of the King of *England*, many promises to befriend him, and blandishments at his departing, cometh to *Scotland*, and his return began to change the Game of State. The Queens and Earl of *Arrans* Faction carryed all matters of importance; the Earls of *Lennox Arguyl*, and the *Humes* had been sequestred from publick imployments; the first faction by his presence find their power diminisht, the other by his counterpoise and assistance have new hopes of arising; both factions disliked that *Angus* should arise to the first place, and suspected he would not be content with the second; they loved to have him an equal, not Supreme.

Private jarrs smothered and interests delayed, matters concerning *England* requiring a hasty and present discharge, *Gilbert* Earl of *Cassiles*, *Robert Cockburn* Bishop of *Dunkell*, *David Mill* Abbot

of *Cambuskenneth*, are ſent Commiſſioners to the Court of *England*. At *Greenwich* they are honorably and kindly received by King *Henry*, whoſe countenance promiſed them a refuſal of no reaſonable thing they would require. The Biſhop had a ſpeech, the Sum of which was.

That, diſſention and hatred taken away between the two Nations, a faithful Peace might be agreed unto and confirmed, their Diſcords turned into Union, their Rancour into Love; which to bring to paſs and make durable, the only apparent and probable means, was to beſtow the Lady Mary *the Kings daughter, upon* James *the young King of* Scotland.

The *Engliſh* with great joy applauded to what was ſaid: And King *Henry* appointed certain Commiſſioners to treat about that purpoſe in private. Theſe when they had met to advance the Union of the Kingdoms, deſired theſe Conditions.

Firſt, That the Scottiſh *Nation giving over, and fairly forſaking the League they had with* France, *ſhould enter in a new League with them, upon the ſame conditions and terms which were contained in their League with* France.

Next, That the young King of Scotland, *till by age he was able for marriage, ſhould be brought up at the Court of* England.

When the Embaſſadours of *Scotland* had anſwered, *That theſe conditions were above their Commiſſion, to which they could not well anſwer*, and deſired a time to acquaint the *Council* of *Scotland* with them; it was condeſcended unto. Thus two of them remaining at *London* the Earl of *Caſſiles*, returned to *Scotland* to bring back an anſwer.

When the day in which the Parliament ſhould have been held was come, the Queen and they who were

were of her faction, as the Earls of *Arran*, *Murray* *Eglintoun*, fearing the Earl of *Anguſs* might turn the wavering peoples affection, and move them to ſome Revolt, which might hinder their Determinations, or terrify the Commiſſioners by the frequent convention of his Friends and followers, conſtraining their voices, and reſtraining their freedom of ſpeech: Or that they had a plot to ſurprize ſome of the contrary Faction, and by authority of Parliament commit them in that place, cauſed a Proclamation to be made, *That none of the three Eſtates ſhould ſit or aſſemble themſelves in the Town of* Edenburgh, *but that they ſhould keep their meeting in the Caſtle and there give their preſence.* The Earls of *Anguſs*, *Lennox*, *Arguyl*, Arch-Biſhop of *Saint Andrews*, Biſhop of *Aberdeen* and *Dumblane*, with their adherents, and others, who joyned with them rather out of fear than good will, refuſe to enter the Caſtle, and require, *That the Parliament be kept in the accuſtomed Place, the King may in Triumph be ſhewn to his own people, conveyed along the High-ſtreet.* All which being denyed them, giving out *That Juſtice was violated, the King kept againſt his will as a Priſoner, the Government and cuſtody of his perſon ſeiſed on without conſent of the three Eſtates,* they ſurround the Caſtle with two thouſand men in Arms, ſtop all furniture of food and Victuals, which ſhould been afforded by the Town. In this diſtreſs they in the Caſtle turn the great Ordnance againſt the Town, and threaten the innocent Citizens with the overthrow of their buildings. Some powder and time ſpent in terrifying the people, at laſt Church-men interpoſing themſelves, and interceding, perſuading with the parties, an accommodation and atonement is wrought, their fury quenched, all rancour ſuppreſt, injuries forgotten, the King

in magnificence and pomp is convoyed from the Castle to his Palace at *Holy-rood-House*, and the Estates assemble in the wonted place of the Town of *Edenburgh*.

In this Parliament the Authority of the Governour is abrogated, by which means they saved him a labour from returning into *Scotland* again; *Eight Lords were chosen to have the custody of the Kings person quarterly, every one his Moneths successively, and the whole to stand for the Government of the State; yet with this Limitation, That the King by their Counsel should not determine, nor ordain any thing in great affairs to which the Queen, as Princess and Dowager, gave not her free consent and approbation.*

The Lords were, the Arch-bishops of *St. Andrews* and *Glasgow*, the Bishops of *Aberdeen* and *Dunkell*, the Earls of *Anguss*, *Arran*, *Lennox*, *Arguyl*.

Time urging resolution, the Lords of Parliament direct the Earl of *Cassiles* again to the Court of *England* to declare their resolution concerning the marriage of the King and the establishing a Peace between the Kingdoms.

The news of the overthrow of the *French* Army and the taking of their King at *Pavia* by the Imperialists being come to the Court of *England* before the Arrival of the Earl of *Cassiles*, King *Henry* told the Scottish Embassadours in plain terms, *He could not determine any thing concerning the Marriage of his Daughter, without acquainting the Emperour her neerest Kinsman and his Confederate, with his proceedings, which could not be done in hast, and so soon, as they required, considering the troubles of Italy.*

Hereupon the Embassadours, their hopes of this Alliance delayed, having obtained a Truce between

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the two Nations for the ſpace of three years and three moneths faithfully to be kept, returned to their own Country.

The State began of new to be toſſed by the troubleſom Factions of the Queen and Earl of *Anguſs*, the Original of which ſprang from matters of the Church; the Abbacy of *Holy-rood-Houſe* falling vacant by the promotion of *George Creightoun* Abbot to the Biſhoprick of *Dunkell*; the Earl of *Anguſs*, to whom the cuſtody of the King was entruſted either by lot or conſent, moved him to confer this Abbacy upon his Brother Mr. *William* Prior of *Coldingham*, without acquainting the Queen with the Gift, or ſeeking the conſent of the other Rulers: at this the Queen turned ſo diſpleaſed, that abandoning the King to the pleaſure of the Earl of *Anguſs*, She with her Followers retired to *Sterlin*. By this inconſiderate retreat the Earl adminiſtred all alone leaning to the greatneſs of his own power, that ſome might have thought the Queen ſet her Game to make up his. All favours and puniſhments paſs by him, All Offices and Places of importance are diſtributed to his favourites; He made *Archembald Dowglaſs* his Uncle Treaſurer, Sir *George* his Brother Great Chamberlain; the Abbacies of *Coldingham* and *Holy-rood-Houſe* were in his Brothers hands, neither temporal nor eccleſiaſtical Dignity eſcapt him; his greatneſs inſtantly procureth him envy.

The Arch-Biſhop of *Saint Andrews*, the Earls of *Arran*, *Argiyl*, *Murray*, who were of the Queens faction, lay a plot to accuſe *Anguſs* of high Treaſon. They challenge him, *That he kept the King againſt his will, inſolently reſtrained his Liberty, and that contrary to the order eſtabliſhed by the Eſtates, which was that the cuſtody of his perſon ſhould every four Moneths by turns be allotted to the Governours*

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of the Country in a Circle; That he could not dispose of any thing of moment alone, the contrary of all which he had usurped; whereupon they charge him to dismiss the King, and restore him to them, and the other Counsellours equall in Government with him, under the pain he should be reputed a Traytor and no loyal Subject, for thus invassalling his Prince to his attendance.

The Earl of *Angus* himself to this answered not, but Sir *George* his Brother moved the King to give the answer himself. *His Mother and those other Rulers should not be thus solicitous for him; for with none more cheerfully, willingly and contentedly could he live and spend his time than with the Earl of* Angus, *neither could he leave the company of one so highly favoured of his Uncle, and so well meriting of himself.*

For all this answer he had secretly sent Letters to his Mother, and those of the adverse party, intreating, *They would remove him from the Earl, and not suffer him any longer to remain under his imperious Government, and if it could not be otherways done, to accomplish it by main force of arms, if they had any pitty, or if any Sparks of duty remained unquenched in them towards him, if they dared Enterprize ought for a Royal, though now thralled, Supplyant, or obey the Command of a King in Prison; that the answer which he sent before unto them and his Mother was by constraint and compulsion drawn from him, and far from his Mind.*

Upon this advertisment the Queen and they of her Faction, assemble what power they could raise in such a suddenness at *Sterlin*, and with great expedition marched towards *Edenburgh* to separate the King from the Earl his Guardian; Who, resolved to repel force by force, with the Townsmen of *Edenburgh*,

Edenburgh, many friends and adherents, and the King, though againſt his will, marched out of *Edenburgh* to encounter the fight of theſe Rebels. When the Leaders of the Queens forces underſtood the King in perſon was in the adverſe Army, either dazled with the ſplendour of the preſence of a King or fearing if they joyned in battel, the perſon of their Prince might be endangered, or that they found themſelves not ſtrong enough in number and arms for a Conflict, they retired back again to *Sterlin*, where they disbanded, and returned every man to his own dwelling place: The Queen with the Earl of *Murray* went to *Murray*-land, the Earl of *Arran* and *Arguyl* to the Weſt, the Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews* to *Dumfermling*.

This Faction diſſipated, the Earl of *Anguſs* remained more ſtable, and aſſured of his Guardianſhip, and now he findeth no Competitour.

The want of the great Seal being a hinderance to many of his projects, and he diſdaining to be a ſuiter to his enemy; for diſpatch of publick affairs, cauſed the King ſend a Letter for it, and the Archbiſhop with all reſpect ſent it immediately to the Earl: with whom to be equal he took himſelf to new Meditations.

The Queen many waies provokt by her Husband the Earl of *Anguſs*, and laſtly by detaining her Son againſt his will and contrary to the publick courſe agreed upon, the Archbiſhop perſuaded her *To intend a proceſs of Divorcement againſt him, and diſſolve her marriage; this might produce ſome great effect, at leaſt it could not but diminiſh the Earls reputation among the people.* The Queen and the Earl many times in private between themſelves agreed upon a ſeparation, diſliking each others conditions; for it was fatal to her as to her Brother *King Henry*, to delight

delight in change of Wedlock, and be jealous of her Matches. The Earl is therefore cited before the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* to hear the sentence pronounced according to the Laws of the Church in those times; at the day appointed he appeareth. The Queen alledged, *He had been betroathed, given his faith and promise of marriage to a noble woman of the Kingdom* (*a daughter of* Traquare) *before the marrying of her, and so by reason of that Precontract he could not be her lawful husband.* The Earl confesseth; the Archbishop pronounceth the sentence of Divorcement, but with this Reservation and Restraint, *That the Child come of the Queen and the Earl the time of their marriage, by the ignorance of the Mother* (*the Queen*) *should not suffer any loss, dammage or disadvantage.*

The King of *England* resented highly this Divorcement, endeavour'd by his Letters to hinder it; for he thought some things tolerable in men, which were incompetent and shameful in women, and after never carried such respect to his Sister as he had done before. Of these she made little reckoning, for after the sentence given, she married *Henry Stuart*, Son to the Lord *Evendale*, whom K. *James*, to do honour to his Mother, promoted to be Lord *Methan*, and General of his Artillery.

Whilst the King remained a shadow to the Earls Government amidst so many distractions, discords and jars of the Grandees, the Court turned solitary and unfrequented by any Noblemen, save these of the *Dowglasses* own faction, amongst which the Earl of *Lennox*, shewed himself most indifferent. For he for his own ends attending the Court, in a short time so framed himself to the Kings humours, that he delighted alone in his conversation, and often hid none of his inward thoughts and secret intentions from

from him. Among others he many times importuned him to give him a ſound advice how he might be delivered from the Earl of *Anguſs*, of whoſe bondage they had been long weary, whoſe rule over him was now turned into tyranny, his ambition having mounted to that height that he was not content to command the Kingdom, but to thrall and keep under his Soveraign Lord the King himſelf, that the effects of his Governing were the diſperſing of his Nobles, and baniſhing of his mother from him.

The Earl of *Lennox*, who by his familiarity with the King was become ſuſpicious of *Anguſs*, and had an intention to tumble out a man hated of his Prince, eſtabliſh himſelf in his place, and rule the young King alone, aggravating his and the Countries miſeries, told him, after much intreaty, The Lord of *Balclough* was the only perſon to be imployed in ſuch a ſervice; a man of unlimited deſires, diſpleaſed, ſtrong in power, mightily hated, and who had inveterate hatred againſt the Earl of *Anguſs*, who wanted nothing but opportunity to execute his rancour: If this conceived exploit had not a deſired ſucceſs, then he himſelf would by main force either win his Prince, or loſe his life in the Enterpriſe. The Laird of *Balclough* ſecretly advertiſed of the Kings intention giveth way to much oppreſſion and many inſolencies on the borders, the redreſs of which reacquired the preſence of the Prince. Complaints are given againſt them, and the King to do juſtice companied with the Earls of *Anguſs*, *Lennox*, Lords *Hume*, *Flamin*, *Areskin*, *Ceſford* *Farnebaſt*, and others cometh to *Jedbrough*. But when they had ſtaied there ſome daies, ſmall redreſs was of wrongs, no juſtice executed, the chief men of the Borders not producing the Delinquents of their Names, to anſwer according to law as was the ancient cuſtom. Thus as they

they came they were returning, when at *Melrose* as they hoverd at the passage of a Bridge over the *Tweed*, certain companies of men in arms appeared on the descents of *Hellidon* Hill: which being come within distance of discerning were known to be commanded by the Laird of *Balclough*, and number'd a thousand all borderers and broken men. The Earl of *Angus*, not a little mov'd at so sudden an apparition, by an Herauld craveth to understand their intentions, and how in such a hostile manner they dared come so near the Kings person, withal charging them under pain of high Treason to retire. The Laird of *Balcloughs* answer was, he came to do the King service, invite him to his house, show him what forces he was able to raise upon the Borders when necessity should require his service and assistance. That he would not obey a charge contrary to the Kings mind, of which he was conscious, and herewith he marched forwards. Presently the Earl alighting on foot, leaving the Earl of *Lennox*, Lords *Areskin*, *Maxwell*, Sir *George Dowglas*, *Ninian Creightoun* with the King as Spectators of the Game, with the Lord *Flammin* and other his Friends, marshall'd his Men for the Charge, which was given with a great shout and clamor of these Borderers. The Lord *Hume*, Lairds of *Farnehast* and *Cesford* had taken their leave of the King who gladly dismist them, but upon advertisement of the sudden fray, being not far of they return in hast with an hundred Launces, in good time for the Earl of *Angus*, and falling upon one of the Wings of *Balcloughs* troups force them to yield ground, and some to turn their backs, upon which suddenly followeth the Chase, *Cesford* and *Farnehast*, eagerly persewing. Here at the descent of a little Hill, by the blow of a Launce which a Domestick of *Balcloughs* threw from his

Army

Army, the Laird of *Cesfoord* is slain, and by his death the Chase left off to be follow'd, and a long deadly fewd between the *Scots* and *Cars* was begun, fourscore Borderers were kill'd in this bickering assisting *Balclough*, himself was wounded with many of his friends, the Earl of *Angus* lost not a few besides the Laird of *Cesfoord*.

The Earl of *Angus* after this road of *Melros* perceiving his enemies to increase, and the affections of some of the Nobility turned from him, composing the old difference between him and the Earl of *Arran*, entered into condition of a strict friendship with him and was content he should be his partner and fellow-governour in distribution of Casualities and ruling the Country. When the King had considered how twice his intentions had been broken, and unhappily without succes, he began to essay the third by the Earl of *Lennox*, whom challenging of his promise he desired to gather an Army, and joining his Forces with the Queens to restore him to his Liberty. The Earl of *Lennox*, before suspected, after the League and friendship of the Earl of *Angus* with the Earl of *Arran*, became a declared enemy to *Angus*, withdrew himself from Court: and some few Months being passed, at *Sterlin* he maketh a Declaration to all the Lieges, of his intentions, inviting them to assist and side with his cause. One thousand men came from the High-lands to him, the Earl of *Cassiles* and Master of *Kilmayers* come from the West with two thousand, the Queen and Archbishop *James Beaton*, direct many of their Vassalls from *Fyffe* to him: This with three strong Briggades he marched towards *Lindithgow*.

The Earl of *Angus* understanding these preparations to be against him, imploreth the assistance of his best Friends to withstand them, especially the

Cars

Cars and *Humes*, to whose valour he had lately been so far obliged. He sendeth Letters to the Earl of *Arran* and the Gentlemen of the name of *Hamiltoun*, regretting the estate of the Commonwealth, requiring their speedy aid. That in so perilous time setting aside all particular Respects and Quarrels, they would have a care of the Common good of the Country. If the Earl of *Lennox* should carry the King from him, and remained Victor of the Field, he would not stay there, his next mark would be the *Hamiltouns* whom he was in the way to put from all title to the Crown, the report going already that the King would intail it to him out of his own favour, and had designed him Heir to the Earl of *Arran*, he having no children of his own. That the King had a magnetical affection towards him, which, if Fortune favoured with a Victory, would increase; now meriting which before was but meer favour. The custody of a young King was not for a man of so short experience. The *Hamiltouns* finding that man their Suppliant who late was their Competitor, delighting to live in a troubled State, and be Copartners of the Government and managing the affairs of the Kingdom, which was promised them in their new band of Friendship, laying aside all former discontent and grudge accept the Quarrel, and assemble their Forces at *Linlithgow*. To this Town the Earl of *Lennox* was advancing, and he being the Sisters Son of the Earl of *Arran*, by Gentlemen well affected towards him, and of his kindred, they intreat him to turn back, and not to try the hazard of a battel for a conquest; he could not long enjoy the Government of a young Prince, whom a little more time would make Governour of himself, and who (perhaps) would reward his service with disgrace; It being ordinarily seen that great obligations to

Princes

Princes procure rather their hatred than love, whilſt it is more eaſie to pay men by contempt than benefits: that if he came forwards, no intereſt of blood would ſave him from their juſt and lawful ſtopping of his paſſage and enterprize. The Earl of *Lennox* anſwered, it was no time then in the eye of the World to abandon ſo juſt a quarrel, that ſhame wounded deeper than death, which he would rather imbrace than not ſee his Prince at *Edenburgh*. And finding the Bridge over the *Avan* poſſeſt by the Enemy, paſſed his Companies over the River *Et* near the antient Monaſtery *Immanuel*; the Maſter of *Killmayers* guideth the Vanguard, conſiſting of Weſtland men; the Earl of *Caſſiles* and himſelf the main Battel, many of which were High-land men, being of all (as ſome write) ten thouſand. The Earl of *Anguſs* having eſſayed in vain to bring the King to the Field with the power of *Edenburgh*, leaving that Charge to his Brother Sir *George* and *Archembald Dowglaſs* Provoſt of the Town, accompanied with the *Humes* and *Cars*, being of all two thouſand, maketh a ſpeedy march towards *Lynlithgow*. But the Earl of *Arran*, ſpurr'd by the ambition and youthful heat of his Son Sir *James Hamiltoun*, had begun the fight before he could appear; for a long time it is valiantly fought, victory inclining to neither ſide, till a great clamour aroſe, ſeconded by the appearance of freſh Troops of Enemies, the *Dowglaſſes* and their Friends, at which alarum many of the High-land and Weſtland men turned their backs; the reſt by the advantage of the place ſuſtain the Fight.

The King, after much loytering and many delays (having heard the Armies were near joyning) and much ſolicitations of Sir *George Dowglas*, iſſueth out of *Edenburgh* at a ſlow march. But when

at *Corſtorphine* Hills he was awaken'd with the noiſe of the great Ordnance, he urged his Followers to make all haſte to come to the fight. It was reported Sir *George Dowglaſs* drove his Horſe, in a great rage gave him injurious words, which he never after forgot. Being half way, he is advertiſed that the Earl of *Lennox* Highland-men were fled, and by all appearance the Earl of *Arran* was Maſter of the Field. This news perplexed him not a little, but making the beſt of that worſt, he diſpatch'd all his domeſtick Servants with *Andrew Wood* of *Largo*, to ſave ſo many as they could in the Chaſe, eſpecially the Earl of *Lennox*, whoſe life he now tendereth as his Crown. But this Earl after he had been taken by the Laird of *Pardowye*, in cold blood was unnaturally ſlain by Sir *James Hamiltoun*, who either killed or wounded on the face all that came under the dint of his Sword in the Rout.

They found the Earl of *Arran* mourning over his Corps, over which he ſpread his Cloak; the Laird of *Howſtoun* lay dead by him, the Maſter of *Killmayers* ſore wounded at their coming, maintained the fight, and was by them with difficulty ſaved, with ſo many others as either the Kings authority or their power could reſcue. This Conflict happened in *September*.

After the victorious Earls had reſtored their wounded Soldiers, and refreſhed themſelves in *Lithgow*, they accompany the King to *Sterlin*, and immediately march through *Fyffe* in queſt of thoſe who had been the cauſe of taking Arms againſt them, of which number the Queen was; but the Archbiſhop of *Saint Andrews* was the moſt eminent, who, as before he had ſeconded *Arran* to ſurprize *Anguſs*, ſo now he had ſtirred *Lennox* to the overthrow of them both. Becauſe the Archbiſhop was

not

not to be found (for he (as ſome record) was turned a true Paſtour, and in Shepherds weeds kept Sheep on ſome Hill) they ſpoiled the Abbacy of *Dumfermling*, and Caſtle of St. *Andrews*, defacing all the Ornaments, and carryed away the Moveables and Stuff in them. The Queen with her Husband *Henry Stuart*, and *James* his Brother, betook them to the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, which the Lords at their return beſieged. The Mother hearing her Son was amongſt the Beſiegers in Perſon, obtaing favour for her Husband and his Brother, cauſed the Gates to be caſt open. But for their ſafety ſuch who loved them, adviſed the King to commit them to that place during his pleaſure.

Now the Earl of *Angus* and *Arran* ſummoned all who had born Arms againſt the King to appear in Judgment, and anſwer according to the Law as Traytors. Some compounded for Sums of Money, others became Dependers of the Houſes of *Anguſs* and *Arran*: *Gilbert* Earl of *Caſſiles* being ſummoned and compearing, *Hugh Kennedy* his Kinſman anſwer'd the Indictment, that he came not againſt the King but to aſſiſt the King, for proof of which he offered to produce the Kings own Letter. Though the Earl of *Caſſiles* eſcaped the danger of the Law, he did not the fury of the Revenge, was taken about ſome diſparaging words; for as he was returning home, he was ſurprized in the way and killed; Some write by the Sheriff of *Aire*, but by the direction of Sir *James Hamiltoun*.

About this time the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, and other Church-men in revenge of the ſpoiling of this Houſes, and perſuing himſelf, for queſtions of Religion, burn the Earl of *Arrans* Brothers Son Mr. *Patrick Hamiltoun*, and baniſh Mr. *Patricks* Brother, *James* Sheriff of *Lithgow*.

Not long after, mens wrath by time diminiſhing and their blood growing colder, the Archbiſhop having beſtowed on the Earl of *Angus*, Sir *George* his Brother, and other their Friends, ſome Church Benefices and many Leaſes of Tythes, was reconciled unto them, and with appearance of great friendſhip they mutually entertained and feaſted each others at the *Chriſt-Maſs* in the City of St. *Andrews*. But ſmall confidence could be long among reconciled Enemies.

Now went every thing as the Earl of *Anguſs* could have wiſhed, he was not only entire and familiar with the Kings Perſon, but with his Offices ſome of his Enemies were dead, others overthrown in open Field, with the reſt he was reconciled. No Faction for power or riches was equal to his; Nor remained there any Caſtle or Fortreſs not ſeiſed on by him, and garriſoned with his Friends and Followers, except the Caſtle of *Sterlin*, a part of the Queens Dowry, which being deſolate by her Miſeries, and only haunted by ſome of her pooreſt and meaneſt Servants, was neglected by the Earl, which in him was a great Error, the fitneſs of the place for a revolution and change of Court conſidered. Many days the Earl had not ſeen his own dwelling Places, nor thought upon his private Affairs, being carried away by the ſtorms of Court, now he thinketh he may ſecurely paſs to *Lothian*, whilſt at *Faulkland* the King ſhall be ſafely entertained by his Brother Sir *George*, *Archembald* his Uncle, and *James* of the *Parkhead* Captain of the Guards; having earneſty entreated their attendance on the King, he croſſeth the *Forth*, with reſolution ſoon to return. His departing was not ſo concealed, but the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* had knowledge of it, and he inviteth Sir *George to ſee him in his City of St.*

St. Andrews, *to receive the Leaſes of the Tithes promiſed, all now perfected, valid, and according to Law ſufficient.* Whilſt Sir *George* is here detained, *Archembald* the Treaſurer by other Letters, for matters of love, is inticed to *Dundee*; But nothing could make the Captain of the Guards leave his Charge. The King amidſt his ſolitary Walks in his Park of *Faulkland* conſidering of what a tedious Train he was relieved, and how ſuddenly occaſion might turn her bald ſcalp, if preſently he took not hold of her, reſolveth to accompliſh by Stratagem, what the Factions of his Nobles could not perform by force. It is delightful to underſtand every particular circumſtance in the progreſs of the actions of Princes. Upon this reſolution he directeth *the Forreſter of the Park to give advertiſement to ſuch Gentlemen about, who kept Hounds, the next morning to attend him, for he would early have his Game.* He ſuppeth ſooner than his cuſtom was, entertaining the Captain of the Guards with more than uſual ceremonies and repreſentations of the next mornings ſport, withall *inviting him to go to his reſt, the Night being ſhort about the Summer ſolſtice.* The Waiters all ſhifted and the Court huſht, ſhutting his Chamber Door, in the Apparel of one of his Grooms, unperceiv'd he paſſed the Guard to the Stable; where with two who attended him, with ſpair Horſes he poſted to *Sterlin*, where by the Queens intelligence he was expected in the Caſtle.

When the certainty of this eſcape was noiſed abroad, many Noblemen repair to *Sterlin*, ſome by Letters ſent unto them, others at the rumour of his evaſion, that in a little time he found him ſafe and far from any danger again to be ſurprized, the Earls of *Arguyl*, *Atholl*, *Glancarn*, *Monteeth*,

Huntley, The Lords *Graham*, *Drummond*, *Levingſtoun*, *Sainclaire*, *Lindſay*, *Evandale*, *Ruthen*, *Maxwell*, *Simple*, the Earl of *Eglintoun*, *Rotheſs*, *James Beatoun* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, the Deviſer of his eſcape. The Earl of *Angus* full of miſs-giving thoughts, with many of his Friends, was alſo on his way to *Sterlin*; but Proclamation being made againſt him, *Diſcharging him from all Offices and publick Functions, and being by an Herauld forbidden with his Friends and Followers to come near the Court by ſome Miles, under pain of Treaſon:* either moved by inward terrours, or love of the Peace of his Countrey, turned back to *Linlithgow*, where two days he attended News of the Kings pleaſure, which at laſt was declared, *That neither he nor none of his ſhould preſume by ſome miles to approach his Reſidence.* The more particular favours were, *That the Earl ſhould confine himſelf beyond the River of* Spay *in the North, whilſt his Brother, Sir* George Dowglaſs, *ſhould render himſelf Priſoner in the Caſtle of* Edenburgh, *and there remain during the Kings pleaſure.* When the *Dowglaſſes* had refuſed theſe offers, they are cited to anſwer according to Law in a Parliament to be holden in *September* at *Edenburgh.*

before the day of appearing, the Earl of *Angus* accompanied with an able Train of his Friends and Followers eſſayeth to enter the Town of *Edenburgh*, and there attend the coming of the King; but by the Lord of *Maxwell*, and the Lord of *Lochinvarre*, who in the Kings Name had inveſted the Town, he is kept out, and the King with an unexpected ſuddenneſs, with two thouſand men coming from *Sterlin*, he removed. The Earl not appearing at the appointed day, is by Decree of Parliament attainted and forfeited, with his Brother Sir

Sir *George Dowglaſs*, *Archembald Dowglaſs* his Uncle, *Alexander Drummond* of *Carnock*, and others.

The points of which they were to be accuſed, were, *The aſſembling of the Kings Lieges with intention to have aſſailed his Perſon*; *The detaining of the King againſt his will and pleaſure, and contrary to the Articles agreed upon the ſpace of two years and more*; *all which time the King was in fear and danger of his life.* At this Parliament (ſome write) the King made a ſolemn Oath never to give a Remiſſion to any of the *Dowglaſſes* there forfeited, as the Lords did, never to interceed nor requeſt for any of them: and in diſgrace of the Earl of *Angus*, *Henry Stuart* who had married the Queen his Wife, was created Lord *Meffan.*

The *Dowglaſſes* having all favour denied them, being openly declared Enemies to the King and Countrey, commit all Hoſtility (the laſt refuge of deſperate men) on their Enemies bounds, *Cauſtland* and *Cranſtoun* are burned, they ravage even to the Gates of *Edenburgh*, the harmleſs people ſuffering for the faults of the great; under ſhadow of their Followers all Robberies and Oppreſſions brake forth, and by whomſoever committed, are laid to their charge. The King will not hear of them in any other terms than Oppreſſours and common Robbers. In their defence they fortifie their Caſtle of *Tantallon* with the readieſt Proviſion taken from the neareſt adjacent bounds. In *October* the King raiſeth a great company of Soldiers, with great Ordnance, and other Engines of War brought from the Caſtle of *Dumbar*, *Tantallon* is beſieged, but proveth impregnable; and *David Faulconer* the General of the Ordnance at their removing is ſlain. A Commiſſion is ſent to the Earl of *Bothwell*, as

the Kings Lieutenant, to invade with Fire and Sword in all places the *Dowglasses*, which he, either out of human compassion, or that he knew wise States-men should extenuate the faults of others rather than aggravate them, refused to accept. But the Earl of *Arguyl* and Lord *Hume* accepted that charge, prosecute them where they might be apprehended, till after much misery and night-wandring at home, they were constrained with *Alexander Drummond* of *Carnock*, who had been partaker of their misfortunes by his consanguinity with the Earls Mother, who was Daughter to the Lord *Drummond*, to fly into *England*, where they were charitably received, and honourably entertained by King *Henry* the Eight.

Now are the Offices and Lands of the *Dowglasses* disposed upon; the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, *Gavin Dumbar* is made Chancellor, *Robert Bartoun*, who was in especial favour with the King, Treasurer, great Customer General of the Artillery and Mines, and other Charges are given unto others.

The King of *England* intended a War against the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, sendeth Embassadors to *Scotland* for a certain time to treat a Peace, and if it were possible to reconcile the *Dowglasses* with the King. Five years truce was resolved upon; but for the *Dowglasses*, the King would hearken to no offers; only *Alexander Drummond* by the intercession of *Robert Bartoun*, and the Embassadors, had liberty to return home. When the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Earl of *Murray*, who had full power to conclude a Truce, had met the other Commissioners upon the Borders, the Factious great men and rank Ryders there, put all in such a confusion by urging difficulties, that they parted without agreeing unto any Articles or certain

Con-

Concluſions: which the King took in ſo evil a part, that divining from what head this interruption ſprung, he committed ſundry Noblemen to the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, till they gave Hoſtages, and ſecured the Borders from invaſion or being invaded. In the month of *June* following with a great power he viſited theſe bounds, executing Juſtice upon all Oppreſſours, Thieves and Out-Laws. In *Ewſdale* eight and fourty notorious Riders are hung on growing Trees, the moſt famous of which was *John Arm-ſtrong*; others he brought with him to *Edenburgh* for more publick Execution and Example, as *William Cockburn* of *Henderland*, *Adam Scot* of *Tuſhelaw*, named King of Thieves.

The year 1530. the King inſtituted the Colledge of Juſtice; before it was ambulatory, removing from place to place by Circuits; Suits of Law were peremptorily decided by Bayliffs, Sheriffs, and other Judges; when any great and notable cauſe offered it ſelf, it was adjudged Soveraignly by the Kings Council, which gave free audience to all the Subjects. The power and priviledges of this Colledge was immediately confirmed by Pope *Clement* the Seventh.

In this Court are fifteen Judges ordinary, eight of them being Spiritual Perſons, of the which the moſt antient is Preſident, and ſeven Temporal men: The Chancellor of the Realm when he is preſent is above the Preſident. There are alſo four Councellors extraordinary, removeable at the Princes pleaſure.

This Inſtitution is after that *Order* of Juſtice which is adminiſtred in *Paris*, firſt inſtituted by *Philip* the Fourth, the *French* King the year 1286.

The King about this time ſtoreth his *Arſenals* with all ſort of Arms; the Caſtles of *Edenburgh*, *Sterlin*, *Dumbartoun* and *Blackneſs*, are repaired and

and furniſht with Ordnance and Ammunition.

Whilſt no certain Truce is concluded between the Realms of *England* and *Scotland*, the Earl of *Angus* worketh in this interim ſo with the King of *England*, that Sir *Edward Darcey* is ſent to the Borders; who when his ſolicitation for reſtoring the Earl, at the *Scottiſh* Court had taken no effect, yea had been ſcorned, after he had ſtaied at *Berwick*, with the Garriſoned Soldiers, and ſome ſelected companies out of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland* maketh a Road into *Scotland*; *Coldingham*, *Dunglas*, and adjacent Villages they burn, ravage the Countrey towards *Dunce*. Some *Scottiſh* Ships and Veſſels were alſo at this time taken by Sea. When a reaſon was ſought of this Invaſion in a Ceſſation of Arms, and calm of Truce; *They require the* Dowglaſſes *may be reſtored to their ancient Inheritances, and whatſoever had been with-held from them, and that* Cannabie (*a poor Abbacy*) *be rendred to the* Engliſh, *as appertaining of old to the Crown of* England. The Earl of *Murray* being declared Lieutenant maketh head againſt them: but the *Engliſh* daily increaſing in number, and his Companies not being ſufficient to make good againſt ſo many and large Incurſions, the power of *Scotland* is divided into four Quarters, every one of which for the durance of fourty days by turns taketh the defence of the Countrey. The *Engliſh* finding by this intercourſe of new Soldiers the War to be prolonged, would have gladly accepted of Peace, but they diſdained to ſue for it to the *Scots*: it was thought expedient that the *French*, a Friend then to both, ſhould be a Mediatour to reconcile them, wherupon, after an Ambaſſador had come from *France*, Commiſſioners firſt meet at *Newcaſtle*, and after at *London*, *James Colvil* of Eaſter *Weyms*, *Adam Otter-*

Otterburn of *Redhall*, *William Stuart* Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, the Abbot of *Kinloſs*. Theſe conclude a Peace *To continue between the two Realms, during the two Princes lives, and one year after the deceaſe of him who ſhould firſt depart this life.*

About this time the ſecrets of the Eccleſiaſtical Doctrine and Authority beginning to be laid open to the view of the World, the politick Government of Kingdomes began to ſuffer in the alteration and diſcovery. The Lady *Katherine* Daughter to *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella*, King and Queen of *Spain*, and Siſter to the Mother of *Charles* the Fifth Emperor, had been Married to *Arthur* Prince of *Wales*, Eldeſt Son to *Henry* the Seventh King of *England*, he dying, by the diſpenſation of Pope *Julius* the Second, her Father in Law gave her again in Marriage to *Henry* his other Son, the Brother of *Arthur*. This Queen though fruitful of Children, and often a Mother, brought none forth that long enjoyed life, and came to any perfection of growth, except one only Daughter *Mary*. Her Husband either out of ſpleen againſt the Emperor *Charles*, or deſire of Male Children, or other Cauſes known to himſelf, *pretended great ſcruples in his Conſcience, would make himſelf and the World believe, that his Marriage was not lawful.* After deliberation with his Church-men, whom he conſtrained to be of his mind, he kept not longer company with his Queen; his Church-men uſed all their eloquence to make the Queen accept of a Divorce, which ſhe altogether refuſed, and had her recourſe to the Pope, who recals the cauſe to himſelf. At *Rome*, whilſt in the conſiſtory the caſe is made difficult, and the matter prolonged, King *Henry* impatient of delays, and amorous, divorceth from his own Queen and Marrieth *Anne Bullen* 1533.

Then the Pope with his whole Cardinals gave out their

their Sentence, That it was not lawful for him by his own authority, to ſeparate himſelf from his Wife; that his Marriage with *Katharine* was moſt lawful, not to be queſtioned, and that under pain of Excommunication he ſhould adhere unto her.

King *Henry* well experienced in the great Affairs of the World, conſidering how the threatnings and thunders of the Biſhops of *Rome*, even in theſe ancient and innocent times when they were believed and reverenced, in his Kingdom produced never great Effects, thought them to no purpoſe in a time when a Doctrine was publiſht to the World, embraced and believed of numbers, by which they were contemned and ſcorned: upon this and other grounds he refuſeth to obey, and the Pope continueth his menacing.

This diſorder and boldneſs of the King of *England* moved the Emperor and the Pope to try if they could win the King of *Scotland* to ariſe in Arms againſt his Uncle King *Henry*. The Emperour eſſayeth it under pretence of other buſineſs of great importance. For having given way to new Opinions in Religion amongſt his Countrey-men in *Germany*, and finding them mounted to that height as to have produced the Effects he deſired, (by this Diviſion laying a foundation to turn the Imperial Crown Hereditary to his own Houſe, which, *Germany* being all of one mind and undiſtracted, he could never have brought to paſs) he compelleth the Biſhop of *Rome* to condeſcend to a general Council or Aſſembly of the Clergy of *Europe*, the onely and ſoveraign Remedy to cure diſeaſed minds, and accord different Opinions: but he knew well that by the Church of *Rome*, men would be delegated to this meeting, turbulent, and ſo far from pacifying tumults begun, that inſtead of Water they would apply

apply Oyl and Wood to theſe flames, turn Opinions before diſputable, irreconcileable, and leave matters worſe than they found them. Having implored the aid and aſſiſtance of the Potentates about him to the ſetting forward of ſo Pious and Holy a Work, he ſendeth *Goddeſcallo Errico* (a *Sicilian*) for greater ſecrecy by *Ireland* to the King of *Scotland.*

This Embaſſador for a token of that affection the Emperour his Maſter carried to the Perſon and Virtues of King *James*, preſenteth him with the Order of the Golden-fleece 1534. with ſolemn Proteſtations for the obſerving of theſe ancient Leagues and Confederacies contracted between the Princes his Maſters Predeceſſors and the Kings of *Scotland*, to continue ever amongſt themſelves.

His other Inſtructions were *Plains of the wrongs done to his Aunt* Katharine, *moſt unjuſtly repudiate and forſaken by a King forſaken of God and abhorred of men. The Marriage of* Anne Bullen *ſhould wound deeply King* James, *it being likely by her Succeſſion he ſhould be barred of his Right to the Crown of* England: *The Emperour by his Embaſſador expoſtulating the wrongs of his Aunt, had gained nothing, but that for his ſake She was the worſe entertained. To make more ſtrong and laſting the Emperours friendſhip with King* James, *he* (*if he pleaſed*) *would make him an offer, and give him the choice of three Ladies, three* Maries, *all of the Imperial Stem*: Mary *of* Auſtria *the Emperours Siſter, the Widow of* Lovis *King of* Hungary; Mary *of* Portugal, *the Daughter of his Siſter* Eleonara *of* Auſtria: Mary *of* England, *the Daughter of* Katherine *and King* Henry. *And would undertake the performance of this laſt, either by conſent of her Father, or by main force. The greateſt but laſt of his*

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Inſtructions was that to ſuppreſs the Hereſies of the time he would concur with the Emperour for the convocating a general Council, and obviate the Calamities then threatning the Chriſtian Religion.

The King with great cheerfulneſs and many thanks, that the Emperour entertained him with ſuch reſpect, and held him worthy ſo fair and Royal Alliance, and the participation of Affairs of ſuch importance and moment, received this Embaſſage.

For the Council, providing it were a general Council lawfully convocated by the Emperour and Chriſtian Kings, as the firſt Councils were wont, free and holy (as nothing is more holy than a general Convocation of Chriſtians) the moſt charitable and quiet of the Clergy, and ſuch who would pacifie matters, not the moſt zealous and fiery Spirits, or men corrupted by rewards being delegated unto it, being premoniſht of the time and place, he would apply his will unto his, aſſiſt him, thither ſend his beſt Orators and moſt convenient Church-men. That if a true Council could not be obtained, every Prince ſhould reform the Errors of Doctrine and faults of the Clergy within his own Dominions.

The proceedings of his Uncle were grievous unto him, being a man altogether thralled to his own Opinions. For the good of the Chriſtian Religion and Peace of Europe, *it were expedient that all her Princes were united together in amity and love, and their Arms directed againſt the common Enemy the* Turk. *For himſelf he would be Mediatour to reconcile the Emperour and his Uncle, endeavour to recall him to the love of his Wife, nor by any perſuaſions to be induced to condeſcend to ought prejudicial to Queen* Katherine.

The three Ladies were every one in the ſuperlative worthy, eſpecially Mary *of* England, *for that great reaſon*

reaſon of uniting the Iſle of Great-Britain, *but ſhe was not in her own power, nor in the power of the Emperour, that he could beſtow her upon whom he pleaſed. That to raviſh her out of the hands of her Father would be, beſide the danger of the Enterprize, a breach of Divine and Human Laws.*

It was not ſafe for Paris *that he preferred one of the three Goddeſſes to the other two, for prizing thoſe three (that the Emperour might know how dearly he reſpected and earneſtly affected his affinity) there remained a fourth Lady near in blood to the Emperour,* Iſabella *Daughter of* Chriſtian *King of* Denmark, *and* Iſabella *the Emperours own Siſter, whom, beſides her matchleſs virtues, for the vicinity of the Nation to his, and the conformity of their harmleſs humors, he made choice to be Queen of his affections and Dominions.*

Goddeſcallo anſwered this laſt, *That a match with Lady* Iſabella *of* Denmark *could not with the Emperours credit be brought to paſs, becauſe ſhe was promiſed already to another,* Frederick *Count Palatine, and the Marriage might be accompliſhed before news came to the Emperour of the Kings Election.*

This choice of the Kings was but on evaſion, for Sir *Thomas Areskin* of *Brichen* Secretary, and *David Beatoun* Abbot of *Arbroth*, under pretence of renewing the League between *France* and *Scotland* long before had been directed to *France* about a Marriage with the eldeſt Daughter of King *Francis*, which *John* Duke of *Albany* projected when the League between the two Kingdoms was renewed at *Rochel*.

Henry King of *England* had now renounced all obedience from the Biſhop of *Rome*, and through his whole Dominions abrogated his Authority, and *Paul* the third after his aſſuming the Papacy, ſet forwards

wards by the Emperour and his Cardinals, who thought either to recover *England* or burn it up in a Foreign or Civil War, never left thundring againſt him. But after *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* was beheaded (a man impriſoned for adhering to the Pope, then for his perſecution, and that the King might carry him the greater reſpect, made Cardinal) the whole Conclave ſtir the Pope againſt King *Henry*. And full of Grief and rage remonſtrate what danger would follow their Order if this Example unpuniſht ſhould have way. They maintained the Papal power againſt all Princes, which now for fear of their Lives they would be forced to forſake, or to proceed with great timorouſneſs and neglect, if by any ſecular power they might be called in Judgment and embrue Scaffolds with their blood. The Pope, though highly provokt, parted not from his Reſolution, yet uſed a ſort of moderation; he threatneth ſtill to let fall the blow, in the mean time holding his hand.

Thus to give ſatisfaction to his Court, he formed a Proceſs againſt King *Henry* and a moſt ſevere Sentence, but abſtained from the publication of it during his pleaſure; Secretly ſending many Copies of it to thoſe Princes he thought could be uſeful to his Deſigns when occaſion ſhould ſerve, and he proceed with a conſtant rumor of the Bull ſhortly to be put in execution and publiſht.

Amongſt many intereſted in wrongs by the King of *England*, conſidering there was none comparable to the Nation and King of *Scotland*, he directeth hither *John Antonio Compeggio*; This Legate findeth King *James* at *Faulkland* 22. *February* 1535. and here with many Ceremonies and Apoſtolical Benedictions, delivereth him a *Cap and a Sword, Conſecrated the Night of the Nativity of our Saviour: which*

which the fame of his valour and many Chriſtian virtues had moved his Maſter to remunerate him with. Alſo (ſaith the Original) *that it might breed a terror in the heart of a wicked neighbouring Prince againſt whom the Sword was ſharpned.*

The Popes Letter in moſt ſubmiſſive ſtile contained, *A Complaint for the death of* John *Biſhop and Cardinal of* Rocheſter, *miſerably taken away by the hand of an Hang-man. The Calamities of* England *occaſioned by the Kings Divorce from* Katherine *of* Spain, *and his Marriage with* Ann Bullen; *That ſince the* Roman *Church had received great diſgrace and a deadly wound, and by patience procured more and more wrongs from the King of* England, *She was conſtrained to uſe a ſearing Iron. For the application of which She had recourſe to his Majeſty, a Prince for his Anceſtors piety and his own renowned. His aid, maintenance, protection ſhe implored; Since King* Henry *was a Deſpiſer, a Scorner, One who ſet at naught the cenſures of the Church: an Heretick, Schiſmatick, a ſhameful and ſhameleſs Adulterer, a publick and profeſt homicide Murtherer, a Sacrilegious Perſon, a Church-Robber, a Rebel guilty of leſe-Majeſty Divine, outragious, many and innumerable ways a Felon, a Criminal: By all Laws herefore juſtly to be turned out of his Throne: The King of* Scotland *for the Defence of the Church would undertake ſomething worthy a Chriſtian King and himſelf: he would endeavour to ſuppreſs Hereſie, defend the Catholick faith againſt thoſe whom the juſtice of Almighty God, and judgments were now prepared and already ready to be denounced.*

The King kindly entertained the Legate, anſwered the Pope with much regret for the eſtate and ſtubborneſs of the King of *England.* Who would

not be ſtruck with Pitty that a King who late amongſt Chriſtian Princes was honoured with the Title of *Defender of the Faith*, ſhould be obnoxious to ſo many Crimes, that now amongſt Princes he could ſcarce be reputed a Chriſtian? This Compaſſion was common to him with others, but he by a neceſſity of Nature, and nearneſs of Blood felt a more piercing ſorrow; he ſhould leave no means untried to recal his Uncle to the obedience of the Church: and though by his Embaſſadors, he had once or twice went about the ſame, but in vain, he would ſtudy a way how face to face he might give him his beſt Counſel, and remonſtrate how much good he would do the Chriſtian World and himſelf by returning again to the Church. Mean while he requeſted him not to be heady, forward nor raſh in executing the Sentence againſt his Uncle, which would but obdure him in his ſeparation.

King *James* not having loſt all hopes of his Uncle, directeth the Lord *Areskin* to *England*, to acquaint him with the Emperors and Popes Embaſſages; and to take his Counſel about a Marriage with the Duke of *Vandoſms* Daughter whom the *French* King had offered to him, his own Daughter being weak and ſickly. In this Embaſſage there was a complaint againſt the *Londoners, who in their paſſage to the Iſland fiſhing, ſpoiled the Coaſts of* Orknay *and the adjacent Iſlands: with a Requeſt that King* Henry *would not ſuccour the* Lubeckers *againſt the Duke of* Hulſtein.

The King of *England* not to prove inferior to the Emperour and Pope in conferring honours upon his Nephew, admitteth him to the Fraternity of the *Garter*, which he delivered to the Lord *Areskin* his Embaſſador. And thereafter diſpatched *William* Lord *Howard*, Brother to the Earl of *Norfolk*

folk (as if that name were a ſufficient Scar-crow to the Popes Sword and the Emperours *Golden-fleece*) to *Scotland*, who made ſuch haſty Journeys that he prevented the News of his coming, and at unawares found the King at *Sterlin*. The Subſtance of his Embaſſage was, That the King of *England* and *Scotland* might have an interview at *York*, at which meeting the King of *Scotland* ſhould be declared Duke of *York*, and General Lieutenant of the Kingdom of *England*. That his Maſter having Inſtructions of the Alliance offered him by neighbouring Princes, did offer to his own and his Counſels, judgments if they could find a more fit, than to contract a Marriage with his Daughter, which might be eaſily perfected if his Maſter and King *James* could condeſcend upon ſome few points.

When the King had taken theſe Propoſitions into deliberation, the Church-men ſuſpecting if this meeting and match had way, the King would embrace the Opinions of the new Reformers, ſet all their wits to overthrow it. The neareſt Succeſſors to the Crown, covering their claim and intereſt, argued, *That to Marry the Lady* Mary *of* England *who for many years would not be marriagable was not a right way to continue his Race by procreation of Children, and that his impatience of living alone, would not be much abated by marrying a Child. That King* Henry *projected this Marriage to no other end than to hinder him from better Alliances, or to facilitate an entry to the Kingdom. That when a Prince would take advantage of any neighbour Prince, it was more ſafely done by Alliance than open force. That it was more ſafely, King* Henry *being a wary Prince, never meant to marry his Daughter at all as long as himſelf lived, but to keep her at Home with him, hearing many Princes in*

hand to ſave him from Dangers both at home and abroad: which counſel was practiſed lately by the Duke of Burgundy.

Moſt oppoſe neither to the meeting of the two Kings, nor to the Alliance, but to the place of their meeting, which ſeemed unto them of no ſmall importance, being in the heart of *England*, and amidſt the moſt martial people of that Nation.

They require the two Kings might have their interview at Newcaſtle, *this place, when they meet, being moſt commodious for furniſhing all neceſſaries by Ships; That the number of their Train ſhould be agreed upon, as one thouſand, which none of the two Kings ſhould exeeed. That the time ſhould be at the Feaſt of Saint* Michael *the Arch-Angel between the Harveſt and the Winter, which would haſt the conſummation of the Ceremonies, and not ſuffer the Kings to prolong time, but invite their return to their own chief and principal Cities.* When it was declared to the Lord *Howard*, that the conſent of the Nobles of the Kingdom obtained, the enterview at the Feaſt of *Michaelmas* at *Newcaſtle* might be condeſcended unto; he would neither accept of the place nor time, *His Maſter having already (as matter he had never put in queſtion) made great preparations for this interview at* York, *that he would think his offers ſlighted and an affront put upon him, if any excuſes were alledged to the contrary*: Thus with ſome bravadoes to the Council he departed.

The King to give ſatisfaction to his Uncle of his Councils proceedings with the Lord *Howard*, ſendeth after him Sir *Adam Otterburn* of *Red-hall*, who layeth the fault of his not appearing upon the Lord *Howard*, complaining, *That he menaced the Counſellors, and would have forced their Votes; that he was a Friend to Sir* George Dowglaſs *and other Rebels,*

Rebels, who convoyed him to Scotland, *and accompanied him back again. It was againſt the credit and honour of free born Princes to be threatned, what was friendly begun ſhould friendly continue and end: Princes ſhould not be conſtrained, eſpecially in matters which were not of Debt but benevolence.*

Amidſt theſe importunities and ſolicitations King *James* with five well manned Ships taketh the Seas, giving out a Voyage for *France*; and the *French* record it was his firſt adventure to come to them: but it is more likely this proceeded from Policy of State, to try the affections and demeanour of the great ones of his Kingdom in his abſence, rather than any intended Voyage towards Forreigners. For with this Fleet he arriveth at *Orkenay*, there in ſome Forts placeth Garriſons, ſails about the Iſlands of *Sky* and *Lewes*, ſurprizeth the chief of the Clannes of thoſe Highland Iſlanders, whom he ſent for Hoſtages to the Caſtles of *Dumbartoun* and *Edenburgh*. And when by the skill of one *Alexander Lyndſay* his Pilate, he had ſounded the remoteſt Rocks of his Kingdom, he was driven by ſtorms to take Land at *Saint Ninians* near *Whitehorn* in *Galloway*. This Voyage bred great fear in thoſe Iſlanders and Savages, and brought long Peace and quietneſs to thoſe Countreys thereafter. At his Return to *Edenburgh* for *Diſorders* committed or ſurmiſed in his abſence, moſt part of the great men near the *Borders* are charged to enter their Perſons in Ward during the *Kings* pleaſure. *Walter Scot* of *Balclough* is committed to the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, the Lord *Hume* to the Caſtle of *Down*, *Farnehaſt* to *Faulkland*, the Laird of *Johnſtoun* and *Mark Car* to *Dundee*: and others elſewhere. He knew the common *Riders* never made incurſions without either the command or tolerance of theſe Superiors.

The remote High-lands and Borders made peaceable by the incarcerations of the Chiefs of the Clannes and Families there commanding, he may when occaſion is offered in Perſon viſit any neighbour Prince or State. To ſecond his former Embaſſadors in their ſuit in *France* he had ſent the Earl of *Murray*, *William Stuart* Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, with others: and King *Francis* in regard of the indiſpoſition of his Daughter *Magdalen*, had made an offer to them of his near Kinſ-woman.

The Kings mind having been long troubled with youthful thoughts by the many matches offered him; and thinking marriages contracted and truſted to the eyes of others, one way or other deficient, reſolveth to go in Perſon and Woe for himſelf. Upon this reſolution he imbarked at *Leith*, concealing the intention of his Voyage; many ſuppoſe he maketh for *England* to pacify his Uncle, for many wiſhed the ſame: Whilſt he is on the Ocean, the Winds contrarying his Courſe, a violent Tempeſt ſeparating his Ships, the Pilate asketh him to what Coaſt he ſhould direct his Courſe; To any thou beſt likeſt (anſwered the King) except towards *England*; the Storm encreaſing and ſleep ſhutting up the Kings eyes, theſe who accompanied him, command the Pilate to turn ſails again for *Scotland*, and not ſtruggle with the pittileſs Element for matters which might be delayed, and a little time could not turn worſe: ſo when the King awoke, he found himſelf near his own Harbours upon the *Forth*, and was ſo highly diſpleaſed with the Authors of his return that he never pardoned them: the fault was laid on Sir *James Hamiltoun*, and to ſtir him more againſt this man, there wanted not who ſaid, *His obedience to his Prince was diſſembled, that he accompanied his Maſter to no other end in his Voyage than to croſs his intentions ſo far as was in his power.*

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The ſeaſon thereafter being more fit for Navigation, he aſcendeth again his Ships at *Kircaldy*, and with a proſperous wind the tenth day after arrived at *Deep* in *Normandy*; The Earls of *Arran*, *Arguyl*, *Rothes*, *Arrol*, Lords *Flemin*, *Boyd*, attended him, with many Barons and Knights: the Earl of *Murray*, young *Lennox* and *Caſſiles*, the Lord *Areskin*, and Abbot of *Arbroth* expected him at *Paris*; but he, preventing the fame of his coming, with a ſmall Train holdeth his way to *Vandoſm*, to ſee the Lady *Mary* of *Burbon*, all which way one *John Tennant* perſonating the Lord of the Company, he paſſed undeſcried. But come to *Vandoſm*, whether the Lady had a Letter for the ſame from *David Beatoun*, or that by matching the faces of one of thoſe Strangers with a Pourtraict ſhe had of King *James*, in likeneſs (as ſhe ſaid) he was found out, and challenged by the Lady of that fault, which was eaſily confeſs'd and pardoned? He found her very beautiful, and eminent in all Princely excellencies, but bethinking how he having choice of three Princeſſes, all Daughters of Kings, if he ſhould fix his affection on this Lady at the firſt interview, he ſhould be obnoxious to the indignation of the other, he returned as he came towards *Roven*, where his Nobles attended him, and having underſtood King *Francis* was to give the Emperour Battel in *Provence*, quitting his Retinue, he poſted towards him. The *Daulphine* meeteth him at the Chappel between *Tarray* and St. *Sophorin* in the Countrey of *Lions*. King *Francis* receiveth him with as much honour as could be deſired, and convoyeth him to *Paris*; the Peers of the Kingdom haſte from all quarters hither to entertain this Strange Prince, and the Court is changed into an Academy of Knightly exerciſe, where King *James* proveth inferior to none in feats of Arms.

Magdalen the Kings eldeſt Daughter is his Miſtreſs, a Lady fair, young, of a lovely countenance, and comely behaviour, above all others of the Kingdom. The Lady *Margaret* her younger Siſter (who after was married to the Duke of *Savoy*) is offered to him, by reaſon of the tender and weak diſpoſition of her Siſter: but *Magdalen* by the glaunces of her Princely Woer re-obtaining her health (her body as it were following the Temperature of her Spirit, or that it appeared to her ſelf and her Father ſo) King *James* continuing in his firſt reſolution, the marriage is contracted between them, an hundred thouſand Crowns of the Sun being promiſed in Dowry, beſides thirty thouſand Franks of yearly penſion during the life of King *James*; the Jointure aſſured to her by the King of *Scotland*, was all the Lands poſſeſſed by any former Queen, the Earldoms of *Strathern* and *Fyfe* with the Palace of *Faulkland*, and other Lands of the beſt and moſt certain Revenue.

Thus *Anno* in the Church of *Noſtre-Dame* in *Paris*, the King of *Scotland* married the Lady *Magdalen* in preſence of her Father, ſeven Cardinals, the King of *Navarr*, many great Dukes and Barons.

King *Francis* after the Solemnities of this Marriage, having *Piccardy* and *Piedmont* then over-run by the *Imperialiſts*; and King *James* fearing he might ſuffer wrong in his abſence from the King of *England*, with aſſurance of mutual Amity, part from other in the end of *April*, and from *New-haven* the Queen with her Husband the 29. of *May* arrives at the Port of *Leith*; it is reported that after ſhe put her foot on the Shore, upon her Knees ſhe kiſſed the Ground, *Praying for all happineſs, to the Countrey and People.* Never Queen in ſo ſhort a time was more

more beloved of her Husband, nor ſooner made conqueſt of the hearts of her Subjects: Nor was their greater hopes conceived of any Alliance than of this, nor greater joy did ever ariſe for thoſe hopes, but as in the life of man there is ever remaining more of bitter than ſweet: ſo were theſe contentments but Shadows, matched with the real Sorrow that the death of that young Lady brought forth. For ſhe lived not many weeks after her Arrival in *Scotland*, when of a Feaver, which ſhe contracted in *June*, ſhe departed this life in *July*: She was buried with the greateſt mourning *Scotland* ever till that time was participant of, in the Church of *Holy-rood-Houſe* near King *James* the Second.

Theſe laſt honours to the dead Queen and funeral pomp finiſhed, the King (deſirous of Succeſſion) hath yet his thoughts wandring in *France*; *Mary* of *Burbon* Daughter to *Charles* Duke of *Vandoſm*, being fruſtrate of her Royal hopes, had not only turned religious, but was dead of diſpleaſure. Whilſt he diſported himſelf at the Court of *France*, he had been acquainted with a Lady rich in all excellencies, who next *Magdalen* had the power of his affections, *Mary* of *Lorrain* Siſter to *Francis*, Daughter to *Rhene*, Duke of *Guize*, and Widdow of the Duke of *Longueville*: Her he thinketh for her Stemm, healthful complexion, fertility (for ſhe had been a mother) and other fortunes, worthy of his love. But to try her affection towards him, he directeth *David Beatoun* his late paranymph, and the Lord *Maxwell* to *France*. Whilſt they traffick this Marriage, many falſe accuſations (as Plots laid againſt his Perſon) are intended one after another at the Court, amongſt which two are remarkable for their notable calumny.

John eldeſt Son to the Lord *Forbeſs*, a young Gentle-

Gentleman chief of his name, hardy and valorous, but evil brought up, and therefore eaſily ſuſpect to be capable of ſin, had for a Servant or Companion, and ordinary ſharer of his pleaſures, one named *Strachan*, a man come of the dreg of the people, and perfectly wicked. This man after much familiarity, and ſome ſecret ſervice and attendance, to ſatisfie his inſatiable deſire, deſired earneſtly ſomething from the Maſter of *Forbeſs*, which he paſſionately refuſed to give him, upon which, carried away with rage and malice, he not only renounced his friendſhip and ſervice, but betook himſelf to the Service of his Enemy the Earl of *Huntley*: by whoſe advice he forgeth a malicious Plot to overthrow him. To compaſs their deſign, they accuſe the Maſter of *Forbeſs* to have had once an intention and mind to kill the King, that the *Dowglaſſes* might be reſtored to their wonted honours and ancient poſſeſſions. By price and prayers witneſſes are procured to prove this againſt him, and convict him, or at the leaſt to leave him ſuſpected and taxed with this Treaſon. Though this crime was not ſufficiently and clearly proved, yet was the Maſter of *Forbeſs* indicted, and convicted by an Aſſize, for having conſpired the Kings death, for the which he was beheaded and quarter'd, and his Quarters ſet aloft upon the Gates of *Edenburgh*.

This Gentlemans death proveth how dangerous the Society and company of the wicked is to any; for aſcending the fatal Scaffold, he juſtified his innocency of what was laid to his Charge, but confeſſed the guilt of the Laird of *Drummes* blood by the juſtice of God brought him to that end. His Father the Lord *Forbeſs* was upon ſuſpicion kept long after in the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*. The King when he could not amend what was paſt, teſtified he

was

was grieved at the death of this Nobleman, for he baniſhed *Strachan*, becauſe he had ſo long concealed the Treaſon of *Forbeſs*, ſilence in a matter importing no leſs than the life of a Prince, being reckoned equal to the Treaſon, he made his ſecond Brother one of his Domeſticks, reſtoring him to the Eſtate which was forfeited.

This thunderclap was immediately followed by another, for the quality of the Perſon, and ſtrangeneſs of the Crime deplorable, but more for the horrour and terrour of the puniſhment.

Jane Dowglaſs Siſter to *Archembald* Earl of *Anguſs*, the Widdow of *John Lyon* Lord *Glammes*, with her Husband *Archembald Campbell* of *Keepneeth*, her young Son the Lord *Glammes*, and an old Prieſt, were brought to *Edenburgh*, committed, and accuſed that they ſhould have poyſoned the King. Their accuſer was *William Lyon* a Kinſman of the late Lord *Glammes*. This Treaſon had no probability of truth among ſuch who knew the accuſed, being perſons who lived far from the Court in their ſolitary manſions, ſeldom or never almoſt ſeeing the King. Nevertheleſs their accuſations were believed, and ſtrict command given to the Judges to diſpatch their Proceſs.

William Lyon aggravating the caſe repreſented to the King, *the ancient faults of the Family of the* Dowglaſſes, *committed againſt his Predeceſſors, the particular wrongs of Earl* Archembald, *now ſtirring the* Engliſh *againſt him, and ravaging his Borders; That he ſhould believe, he not being able to be reſtored to his firſt Eſtate by prayers and ſolicitations of Neighbour Princes, nor by open force, now ſet on work his laſt engines to come to his end, though it were with the life of his Soveraign; That in ſo ſecret and dangerous a Plot he could not uſe but his neareſt*

neareſt Kindred; a Woman, and his own Siſter, might attempt ſuch a miſchief, her ſex and other qualities making her leſs ſuſpect to have acceſs to his Perſon.

Suppoſe clear proofs could not be found againſt her, the whole race of the Dowglaſſes *ſhould be extirpate, being a Linage only fertile in bringing forth Monſters of Rebellion. That by ſparing her life, and ſuffering her to eſcape, he ſhould afford her time, licence and power to execute what ſhe but now (perhaps) had intended.*

The King, not knowing the mans particular hatred againſt this Lady (for ſome write, *He did inform againſt her in revenge that ſhe refuſed to marry him, giving her ſelf to another*) ſuffered the *Proceſs* to be concluded.

Some of the Judges would have referred her to the Kings clemency till a farther trial of the Witneſſes might be had, upon whoſe teſtimony the *Proceſs* did depend, it being a ſafer way in Judgment to abſolve the guilty, than condemn the innocent. But the moſt part gave her over to the Aſſizers; the better part of which being in voices fewer, the greater, who neither reſpecting conſcience within them, nor ſhame with the preſent age and poſterity, nor the Supream Juſtice of Heaven, find this poor Lady guilty, and ſhe is condemned to be burnt alive. Her ſentence was executed the fifth day after the beheading of the Maſter of *Forbeſs* on the Caſtle hill of *Edenburgh*, in ſight of her Huſband. Who either out of Revenge or Fear, after this tragical end of his Lady, ſeeking to ſave himſelf by eſcape out of the Priſon, whilſt he came over the Wall by the ſhortneſs of the Cable was daſhed againſt the Rock, and found dead. Though the tender years of the Lord *Glammes*, her Son, proved

ved his innocency, he remained priſoner in the Caſtle till after the Kings death. The old Prieſt, when after torture, nothing could be proved againſt him was ſet at liberty, *William Lyon* the Author of his calumny, was baniſhed the Countrey, which juſtified the Ladies integrity, and verified that however Princes love to find out Treaſon, they hate the Informers except upon clear grounds.

Upon the like ſuſpitions *Droomlenrigge* and *Hempſ-Field* ancient Barons, having challenged others, had leave to trie the verity by Combate; the liſts were deſigned by the King (who was a Spectator and Umpire of their Valour) at the Court of the Palace of *Holy-rood-houſe*. They appeared upon the day, armed from head to foot, like ancient Palladines, and after many enterchanged blows to the diſadvantage of their Casks, Corſlets and Vantbraces, when the one was become breathleſs, by the weight of his arms and thunder of his blows, and the other (who was ſhort ſighted) had broken his ponderous Sword, the King, by Heraulds, cauſed ſeparate them, with diſadvantage to neither of theſe Companions, and the verity which was found, was, that they dared both fight in cloſe Arms.

The Abbot of *Arbroth*, and the Lord *Maxwell* by many enterchanged Letters full of Princely love, had aſſured the King and the Lady *Mary* of *Lorrain*, and Articles being agreed upon, to the great content of the *French*, they were eſpouſed by Proctors, as is the cuſtom amongſt Princes, with great triumph in the City of *Paris*, in the preſence of the *French* King and many Peers; after which ſolemnity, Monſieur *d' Annabault* Admiral of *France*, accompanied her to *New-haven* in the beginning of the month of *June* 1538. where ſhe embarked, and with many *French* Ships, when ſhe had been toſt

on

on the Seas, came to *Fyffes-ness*, where at *Cayrel* she was attended by the Noblemen, and the King, who consumated the Marriage in the Cathedral Church of St. *Andrews* in *July*.

Nothing more linketh the affections of the Married than Children: the first year the Queen answereth her Husbands hopes, and in St. *Andrews* was delivered of a Son, who was named *James*; the Archbishop of St. *Andrews* and Earl of *Arran* being his God-Fathers, and the Queen the Kings Mother his God-Mother 1539. in *Febr.* thereafter she was Crowned Queen of *Scotland* in the Abby Church of *Holy-rood-house* by the Abbot of *Arbroth*; at which time *Margaret* the old Queen falling sick at *Methven* in few days departed, and was buried in the Charter-house of St. *Johnstoun* near the Tomb of King *James* the First. The King her Son, with all the Nobility, and Gentry being present at her Funerals, which were celebrated in most solemn and pompous manner. Not long after *James Beatoun* Archbishop, a man of great age, followed this Lady to the other World: he had provided Successors to his Benefices, and his Archbishops See to *David Beatoun*, afterwards Cardinal, whom the King accepted and admitted without contestation.

The Kingdom now began to be divided in Opinions of Religion, they which held the helm of State, labouring in vain to reconcile them; the King was sore perplexed and uncertain what course to follow; suppress them he could not; to give way to them, without shaking the strongest beams of the policy of his Kingdom, seem'd unto him impossible; his Privy Counsellors being more of his ancient Servants, than Nobles or Church-men, (of which many were piping through these flecked clouds of ignorance) as they

they favoured gave their Opinions, ſome one way, ſome another, and a freedom of ſpeech being given, one of them as they were in his Chamber together, ſpake to him to this purpoſe.

Sir, Amongſt the many bleſſings your Subjects enjoy under this your Government, this is not the leaſt, that for the Weal of your Majeſty, and the publick good of the Kingdom, the meaneſt of your Subjects may freely open his mind and declare his opinion unto you his Soveraign.

And if ever there was a time in which grave, good and ſound Counſel ſhould be delivered to your Majeſty, it is this, and the difficulties of the Commonwealth do now require it. Nor ever in matters of advice and conſultation, can we embrace and follow what is moſt reaſonable, and what according to Laws, Juſtice and Equity ſhould be, but what neceſſity driveth us unto, and what is moſt convenient for the preſent time to be, and what we may well and fairly accompliſh and bring to paſs.

The Eſtate of your Kingdom is troubled with diverſity of Opinions concerning Religion; It is to be wiſhed that the one onely true Religion were in the hearts of all your Subjects, (ſince diverſity of Opinions of Religion and Hereſies are the very puniſhment of God Almighty upon men for their horrible vices and roaring ſins. And when men forſake his fear and true obedience, God abandoneth them to their own opinions and fantaſies in Religion; out of which ariſe Partialities, Factions, Diviſions, Strife, inteſtine Diſcords, which burſt forth into Civil War, and in ſhort time bring Kingdoms and Commonwealths to their laſt periods) But matters ariſing to ſuch a height and diſorder, as by all appearance, they are like to advance in this Kingdom, the number of the

the Sectaries daily increasing, without dissembling my thoughts to your Majesty, The preservation of the People being the supream and principal Law which God Almighty hath enjoyned to all Princes.

I hold it more expedient to give place to the exercise of both Religions, than under pretence and shadow of them to suffer the common Peace of your Subjects to be torn in pieces. What can wisdom (Sir) advise you to do with these Separatists? Either they must be tolerated for a time, or they must altogether be removed, and that by death or banishment.

So soon as a Prince beginneth to spoil, banish, kill, burn his people, for matters abstract from sense and altogether spiritual, he becometh as it were a Plague unto them. It is an Error of State in a Prince, for an opinion of Piety to condemn to death the adherers to new Doctrine. For, the constancy and patience of those who voluntarily suffer all temporal miseries and death it self for matters of Faith, stir up and invite numbers who at first and before they had suffered were ignorant of their Faith and Doctrine, not only to favour their Cause but to embrace their Opinions, Pitty and commiseration opening the Gates. Thus their belief spreadeth it self abroad, and their Number daily encreaseth.

It is no less Error of State to banish them. Banished men are so many Enemies abroad, ready upon all occasions to invade their native Countrey, to trouble the Peace and Tranquillity of your Kingdom.

To take Arms against Sectaries and Separatists will be a great Enterprize, a matter hard and of many dangers; Religion cannot be preached by Arms; the first Christians detested that form of proceedings; force and compulsion may bring forth Hypocrites; not true Christians. If there be any Heresie amongst your People, this wound is in the Soul; our Souls being

being Spiritual Subſtances upon which fire and iron cannot work, They muſt be overcome by ſpiritual Arms; Love the men and pitty their Errors.

Who can lay upon a man a neceſſity to believe that which he will not believe, or what he will believe, or doth believe, not to believe. No Prince hath ſuch Power over the Souls and thoughts of men, as he hath over their bodies. Now to ruine and extirpate all thoſe Sectaries, what will it prove elſe than to cut off one of your Arms, to the great prejudice of your Kingdom and weakning of the State? they daily increaſing in number, and no man being ſo miſerable and mean, but he is a membor of the State. The more eaſie manner and nobler way were to tolerate both Religions, and grant a place to two Churches in the Kingdom, till it ſhall pleaſe Almighty God to return the minds of your Subjects, and turn them all of one will and opinion: Be content to keep that which ye may, Sir, ſince ye cannot that which ye would.

It is a falſe and erroneous opinion, That a Kingdom cannot ſubſiſt which tolerateth two Religions: Diverſity of Religion ſhutteth not up ſociety, nor barreth civil converſation among men; a little time will make perſons of different Religions contract ſuch acquaintance, cuſtom, familiarity together, that they will be intermixt in one City, Family, yea Marriage-Bed, State and Religion, having nothing common.

Why (I pray) may not two Religions be ſuffered in a State (till by ſome ſweet and eaſie means they may be reduced to a right Government) ſince in the Church (which ſhould be union it ſelf, and of which the Roman *Church much vaunteth) almoſt infinit Sects and kinds of Monks are ſuffered: differing in their Laws, Rules of government, Faſhions of living, Dyet, Apparel, maintenance and opinions of per-*

fection, and who sequester themselves from our publick union. The Roman *Empire had its extension, not by similitude and likeness of Religion. Different Religions, providing they enterprize nor practise nothing against the Politick Laws of the Kingdom may be tolerated in a State.*

The Murthers, Massacres, Battels, which arise and are belike daily to encrease amongst Christians, all which are undertaken for Religion, are a thousand times more execrable, and be more open, plain, flat impiety, than this Liberty of diversity of Religions, with a quiet peace, can be unjust.

Forasmuch as the greatest part of those who flesh themselves in blood and slaughter, and overturn by Arms the peace of their Neighbours (whom they should love as themselves) spoiling and ravaging like famished Lyons, sacrifice their souls to the infernal powers, without further hopes or means of their ever recovering and coming back, when those others are in some way of repentance.

In seeking liberty of Religion, these men seek not to believe any thing that may come in their Brains; but to use Religion according to the first Christian institutions, serving God *and obeying the Laws under which they were born.*

That Maxim so often repeated amongst the Churchmen of Rome, *That the Chase and following of Hereticks is more necessary than that of Infidels, is well applyed for the inlarging and increasing the Dominions, Soveraignty and power of the* Pope, *but not for the amplifying and extending of the* Christian *Religion, and the Weal and Benefit of the* Christian *Common-Wealth.*

Kingdoms and Soveraignties should not be governed by the Laws and Interests of Priests and Church-men, but according to the exigency, need, and as the case requireth

requireth of the publick Weal, which often is neceſſitated to paſs and tolerate ſome defects and faults. It is the duty of all Chriſtian Princes to endeavour and take pains that their Subjects embrace the true faith, as that ſemblably, and in even parts they obſerve all Gods commandments, and not more one commandment than another.

Notwithſtanding when a vice cannot be extirpate and taken away without the ruine of the State, it would appear to human judgments that it ſhould be ſuffered. Neither is there a greater obligation, bond, neceſſity of Law, to puniſh Hereticks more than Fornicators, which yet for the peace and tranquillity of the State are tolerated and paſt over. Neither can a greater inconveniency and harm follow, if we ſhall ſuffer men to live in our Common-wealth who believe not, nor embrace not all our opinions. In an Eſtate many things are for the time tolerated, becauſe they cannot without the total ruine of the State be ſuddenly Amended and Reformed.

Theſe men are of that ſame nature and condition of which we are; they worſhip as we do, one God, they believe thoſe very ſame holy Records; We both aim at Salvation; We both fear to offend God; We both ſet before us our happineſs: The difference between them and us hangeth upon this one point, that they having found abuſes in our Church, require a Reformation. Now ſhall it be ſaid for that we run divers ways to one end, underſtand not rightly others Language; we ſhall purſue others with Fire and Sword, and extirpate others from the face of the Earth? God is not in the bitter diviſion and alienation of affections, nor the raging flames of ſedition, nor in the Tempeſts of the turbulent Whirl-winds of contradictions and diſputations, but in the calm and gentle breathings of Peace and Concord: If any wander out of the High-

way, we bring him to it again; If any be in darkneſs, we ſhew him light and kill him not; In Muſical Inſtruments if a ſtring jar and be out of tune, we do not frettingly break it, but leiſurely veer it about to a Concord: and ſhall we be ſo churliſh, cruel, uncharitable, ſo wedded to our own ſuperſtitious opinions, that we will barbarouſly baniſh, kill, burn thoſe whom by love and ſweetneſs we might readily win and recal again?

Let us win and merit of theſe men by reaſon, Let them be cited to a free Council; it may be they ſhall not be proved Hereticks, neither that they maintain Opinions condemned by the ancient Councils. Let their Religion be compared and parallel'd with the Religion of the firſt Age of the Church.

Shall we hold this People worſe than the Jews, *which yet have their Synagogues at* Rome *it ſelf? Let them receive inſtructions from a free and lawful Council, and forſake their Errors, when they ſhall be clearly and fairly demonſtrated unto them. Hereſie is an error in the fundamental grounds of Religion, Schiſm intendeth a reſolution in Separation: Let a good Council be convocated, and ſee if they be ready or not to re-unite themſelves to us.*

That which they believe is not evil, but to ſome it will appear they believe not enough, and that there is in them rather a defect of good than any habit of evil. Other points when they ſhall be conſider'd, ſhall be found to conſiſt in external ceremonies of the Church, rather than in ſubſtance of Doctrine, or what is eſſential to Chriſtianity. Theſe men ſhould be judg'd, before condemn'd, and they ſhould be heard before they be judg'd; which being holily and uprightly done, we ſhall find it is not our Religions, but our private Intreſts and Paſſions which troubleth us and the State.

The

The King followed not this opinion, but gave himſelf over to the Counſel and Government of the Prelates. They remonſtrate to him, that he ſhould not raſhly alter approv'd and long receiv'd Cuſtoms; that there was nothing more dangerous in Government, than to abaſe the authority of ancient Laws. Let him well conſider and ſet before his eyes the malice of man, who ever when he is drawn off one courſe of evil, precipitateth himſelf in a worſe; It was leſs evil in State to tolerate diſorders known, unto which uſual and accuſtomed remedies might be applyed, than by altering and changing foundations to give way to new, to find out Remedies to which, would take and conſume a whole age. That this would be a way, not only to take away the abuſes, but even the good uſes of every thing, and put in hazard all matters and main points concerning Religion. They deſired him to conſider how there were two ſorts of perſons affecting theſe new Opinions and ſtudying Novations. The multitude or common people, and ſome of the Nobility and Gentry. It was likely the common people might be deceived; and to give them ſatisfaction, and appeaſe them, by granting them a Reformation or change in Religion, would not be a means to illuminate and inſtruct them, but to bring in a popular licence. If he ſhould ſuffer them to misbelieve, diſtruſt, call in queſtion points of Religion, or ſearch or find out more light, they would immediately thereafter preſume to make Laws and limit the Government, by degrees reſtraining the Soveraign Authority, and after they had examined, ſifted narrowly, and diſcuſt Eccleſiaſtical authority, they would eſſay to correct and find the difficulties of the Temporal. That it was more eaſie to oppoſe and reſiſt the firſt demands of the multitude, than pleaſing them in a part, af-

ter bound and limit their deſires and petitions. As to the great Men of his Nobility and Gentry he might be aſſured they had not Religion and Piety for their Ends, but to impatronize and lay hold on the Church Rents, and Eccleſiaſtical Goods. To turn abſolute and free men, acknowledging neither Church nor King. To this end many reſerved themſelves, and kept cloſe their opinions, attending the change: which once appearing, their faces would turn all one way. Which imminent evils, if the King would prevent, there was no other means than to uſe his Authority and Power, whilſt the moſt and greateſt part of his Kingdom yet obey'd him. That celerity in this was moſt neceſſary, before their number increas'd, and ere they diſcover'd that univerſal commodity, which would follow the imbracing of theſe new Opinions. It was ſafer to compoſe theſe Tumults by his abſolute command and authority, and if this produced not the wiſhed effect, to perform it by Arms, than to give reins to a popular Licence, and the ambition of great Men.

After this Counſel had prevailed, moſt rigorous Inquiſitions are Eſtabliſhed, and puniſhments denounced againſt all who profeſſed Opinions differing to the Church of *Rome*.

Whereupon ſome out of a muffled zeal of Religion, others to revenge their particular quarrels, moſt to poſſeſs Moveables and Lands, purſue many to judgment. Of which ſome are executed by fire, others baniſhed, many impriſoned, amongſt which was that famous Poet and Hiſtorian *George Buchanan*, who whilſt his Keepers ſlept, eſcaped by a Window of the Priſon, the Muſes holding the Cable; the more frequent the publick executions were and baniſhments, the greater number embraced the opinions of them which ſuffered.

The

The King of *England* having understood that the *Pope*, giving out the confirming of a Peace between the Emperour and the *French* King, had a meeting with them at *Nice* (a maritime Town upon the confines of *Provence*) and assuring himself that matters there would be both consulted upon, and determined to his prejudice, sendeth again to his Nephew the King of *Scotland*, that he would come and see him at *York*, for now he had more vehemently irritated the Pope, having condemned as Rebels, and confiscated the Goods of all who maintained Papal Authority; and raised from their Tomb the Bones of *Thomas Becket* (commonly named St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, canoniz'd by Pope *Alexander* the third, for being kill'd for the maintenance of the liberties of the *Church* 1171. to whom there was yearly a Festival Day kept by the *Roman* Church) and by the hands of a common Executioner caused burn in ashes and throw them in the River. The revealing of which to the World was a secret more derogatory to the Pontifical State, than any stumbled upon heretofore, or opened up. Upon this the Sentence of Excommunication, some years deferred, was pronounced against him. By which he was deprived of his Kingdom, and those who adhered to him, declared uncapable of what they possessed. His Subjects were dispensed from their Oath of Allegiance, and discharged to obey him. Strangers were inhibited traffick with his Kingdom. All Christians charged to arise in Arms against him. The Estates, Goods and Persons of such Subjects as followed him, given over to be a prey and spoil to any would invade them.

It was time for him to look to himself. Such of the Nobility as loved peace, and the Weal of the the two Kingdoms, stirr'd King *James* to this inter-

view, eſpecially they who favour'd the reformed Religion; aſſuring him King *Henry* was diſpoſed with all demonſtrations of good will, that his Perſon would be far from any danger. And if by this conference they ſhould join in bands of Amity, a great benefit to themſelves, Country and Poſterity would redound. Why would King *Henry* in the face of the World and Neighbour Princes, brand ſo his Reputation, as to break the Laws of Hoſpitality, wrong a Prince whom he had invited to come and ſee him? Why would he violate thoſe of conſanguinity attempting againſt his own Nephew? The Emperour *Charles* the Fifth had been his Gueſt, and after Royal entertainment, was friendly diſmiſſed. He met with *Francis* the *French* King at *Bullen*; which meeting ſeemed rather of Brothers come to countenance ſome marriage Pomp, than contending Neighbours. If King *Henry* had born any diſcontent againſt his Nephew, he might long ere now have ſatisfied his ambition, and at more eaſie rate, when the King his Father with moſt of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland* receiv'd that fatal overthrow by the Hills of *Flowden* and *Banks* of *Till*; the refuſing of an interview might divide the King and his Uncle upon which might follow ſome unnatural War.

Upon the other part the Church-men ſet all their Power to hinder this interview, perſuading themſelves it would give a terrible blow to their Eſtates or Religion. The principal cauſe (ſay they) why the King of *England* is ſo paſſionately earneſt to have this meeting, is to perſuade his Nephew to conform Church-matters in *Scotland* to thoſe already begun in *England*; to aboliſh the Popes Authority, to drive Religious Perſons from their Lands, Rents, Houſes; inveſt the Jewels and Ornaments of the Churches. Which counſel and example if King

James

James ſhould follow, he would hazard or loſe the friendſhip he had with the Pope, Emperour and *French* King, his beſt Confederates, abandoned of which he and his Kingdom would be left a Prey to the tyranny of his Uncle; if *Henry* kept no faith to God, Men had no reaſon to truſt unto him. That this Interview was to intrap his Perſon; He being the man whom the Pope and Emperour had deſigned to ſet upon his Throne, and revenge their quarrels; That it was groſly to err, to be carried away with a ſhadow and appearance and leave a Subſtance, to truſt at once his Crown, Perſon and Liberty to an Enemy. And ſith examples move more than Precepts, let him think upon the hazard of King *James* the Firſt, eighteen years Priſoner, and after ſold to his Subjects; *Malcolm* and *William* Kings of *Scotland*. He ſhould remember (if yet he were therein to be inſtructed) that Princes ſerve themſelves with occaſions over their Neighbours, that they have greater care to ſatisfie their ambition, than fear of ſhame for doing of wrongs with the preſent times or poſterity. That their Oaths were no longer kept than they obſerved their advantages. That after he falleth in his hands, he ought to follow his manners, Religion, forſaking and giving over his own natural diſpoſition, manners and freedom, have no other affections nor motions than his. For who cometh under the roof of a Tyrant turneth ſlave, though he was a free man ere he did enter. That this meeting with the Body, would endanger the Soul and infect it with his Errors, corrupting it with falſe opinions grounded upon a liberty to live to ſenſuality and *Epicurean* pleaſure. If upon the ſlighting of this Interview, King *Henry* ſhould denounce War againſt King *James* and invade his Countrey, they in his juſt defence ſhould furniſh Moneys to entertain

tertain an Army and overturn his proceedings. For the preſent neceſſity they offer to pay to him fifty thouſand Crowns yearly; and in any hazard of the Eſtate voluntarily to contribute all their Rents and Revenues, providing it would pleaſe his Majeſty to ſuffer juſtice to proceed againſt thoſe who ſcandalouſly had ſequeſtred themſelves from the holy Church, and to the contempt of his Laws publickly made profeſſion of the opinions of *Luther*. That the Goods of all who ſhould be convict of Hereſie (which they eſteemed to no leſs than an hundred thouſand Crowns of yearly Rent) ſhould be brought to the Exchequer, and their Lands annext to the Crown. To this effect they intreat his Majeſty to give them ſufficient Judges truly Catholick and full of zeal and ſeverity.

After long reaſoning upon both ſides it was agreed, the King ſhould not altogether refuſe to meet his Uncle, but adhere to the firſt offer propounded to his Embaſſadour concerning this Interview. The meeting to be at *Newcaſtle*, one thouſand at the moſt in train with either King, the time to be the Feaſt of St. *Michael* the Arch-Angel.

Theſe Conditions not being embraced by King *Henry*, would if not aboliſh totally, at the leaſt prolong the time of this meeting; the King of *England* thinketh his Nephew too imperious to aſſume the Injunction of the whole circumſtances of their meeting, but rather than his ſuit ſhould take no effect, accepteth both of the Place and number of the Train: and that he might have ſome point yielded unto him, requireth the time may be the firſt of *Auguſt*. Theſe Conditions being almoſt agreed upon, three or four hundreth *Riddeſdale* and *Tinedale* men, with other Borderers, break upon *Liddeſdale*, and there with large incurſions kill and forrage. This during the

Treaty

Treaty falling miſerably forth, ſo much irritated King *James*, that, accepting the offers of his Clergy, he gave over inwardly all intentions of any interview: By prolonging time labouring to winde himſelf out of the Maze. Hereupon he ſendeth Letters full of excuſes for his ſtay; repreſenting his many grievances and wrongs ſuffer'd; and the ſeeds of diſcord began now to be ſown amongſt them. To lighten and recreate his cloudy thoughts, the Queen is delivered at *Sterlin* of another Son, who with great ſolemnity is Baptized in the Chappel of the Caſtle, and named *Arthur*.

The Prelates after mature deliberation preſent Sir *James Hamiltoun*, natural Son to the Earl of *Arran*, to be Supream Judge of the Inquiſition, againſt all ſuſpect of Hereſie and new Opinions differing from the Faith of the *Roman* Church. The King approving their judgments in their choice, admitteth him. Sir *James* chearfully accepteth this new honour: For now his ambition will find many guilty and miſerable ſupplicants: Yet was this change his ruine. For whilſt he perſecuteth all who were informed againſt to be ſuſpected of the Reform'd Religion, having many in Jayls, and numbers in his Scrolls to bring within the Labyrinth of a Proceſs, the ſupream Providence arreſteth himſelf.

James Hamiltoun Sheriff of *Linlithgow*, Brother to Mr. *Patrick Hamiltoun* Abbot of *Ferm* (who had ſuffered for Religion, and was Couſen to Sir *James Hamiltoun* of *Fennard*, Lord Inquiſitor) for embracing his Brothers Opinions, had been perſued ſo by the Church-men that he was conſtrain'd to forſake his own Countrey, and ſome years wander as a baniſht man abroad; But by his Friends at Court having purchaſed a Licence or Protection for ſome months to ſee his deſolate Family, and put his private

private Affairs in order, cometh home. Where finding the cenſorian Power to be in his Couſens hands (for where ſhould he have Sanctuary, if he were challenged by ſo near a Kinſman for matters of Religion?) imagining to himſelf an over-ſight and preterition, out-dateth by his ſtay his Protection. Sir *James* to curry the favour of the Church-men, and teſtifie how dearly the cauſe of the Catholick Faith touched him, reſolveth to begin with his Couſen. For if he were ſo burnt up with zeal, that he ſpar'd not his own blood in the quarrel of the *Roman* Faith, what Heretick could paſs unpuniſht? Beſides the inveſting himſelf in the Sheriffs Office and Lands (which he never minded to reſtore) he had a Pick againſt him, for that whilſt he ſat Judge in *Lithgow*, he pronounced a Sentence by which he was intereſted in ſome petty gain.

The Sheriff falling ſo far ſhort of his expectation, that he findeth himſelf the firſt ſubject of his Couſens Juſtice, and highly reſenting his Kinſmans cruelty, whom he knew under pretext of Piety ready to execute his own Revenges, reſolveth to prevent his miſchief. He had ſometime been familiar with Sir *James*, had known his by-paths; his ſecret Plots and airy brags had not eſcaped his obſervation; ſome alike in Kindred, to them both were emiſſaries ſuborned, to mark not only his actions but words and behaviour, by which one way or other he might be intrapt; He knew Sir *James* ſtood in ſome umbrage with the King, and that ſome ſuſpitions by no Innocency could be taken away. When at laſt he had found his hot-ſpur Couſen (who threatned him with Death and Fire) within the circle of his conjurations, he directeth his Son to the King, who at that time was ready to paſs the *Forth* in his Barge; this baſhful Meſſenger giveth advertiſement from his Father,

Father, that the King ſhould make his Perſon ſure from his foes at home; for Sir *James Hamiltoun* had ſecret Intelligence and Plots with the Earl of *Anguſs* and *Dowglaſſes*, and that he attended only the occaſion when he might ſurprize him, either alone, or with a mean Retinue, and then or openly he would invade him, or breaking up his Chamber-doors aſſaſſinate him. The King giving attentive ear to a buſineſs which concerned him, no leſs than the ſafety of his Perſon, the accuſation being given by a Couſen of the ſuſpect, againſt a Family, which a little diſorder in the State might turn Succeſſors to the Crown, directeth the young man to *Edenburgh*, and beyond his private inſtructions giveth him a Ring (well known by the chief Officers to be a token of power and ſecrecy) to aſſemble ſo many of the Counſel as were reſident. Sir *Thomas Areskin*, Secretary, Sir *James Lermound*, Maſter of the Houſhold, *William Kircaldie* Treaſurer and others, meet, fear, conſult upon the Treaſon, labour how to prevent it; come to Sir *James* his Lodging, make ſure his Perſon in the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*: and at that ſame time proceed, according to the Kings direction to inſtruct his Proceſs. Sir *James* paſſionately reſenting his impriſonment, by his Friends imploreth the aid of the Church-men upon his innocency. They apprehending his accuſation to be a Stratagem of State forg'd by theſe of the Reformed Religion, for the ſtopping any further progreſs of the Inquiſition, already ſo furiouſly begun, interpoſe their credit with the King for his Liberty to the diſcharging of his Commiſſion againſt Hereticks. If the King ſhould hearken to every Informer againſt a man in State and Office, he ſhould never have an end; for thus no man is ſo innocent who may not be detracted and calumniated. Sir *James* was known

known to be a man raſh and inſolent in words, his Brains having been a little giddy (like one looking from a great height) by his advancement in honours and place in Court; but ſincere in the ſervice of his Prince and loyal. If he was arrogant in boldneſs of terms, that was to acquire ſome more credit with the Commons, that he might do better ſervice to his Prince.

They who committed Sir *James Hamiltoun*, knowing the King facile and eaſie to be wrought upon by the Clergy, ſome of them too, profeſſing or giving way to the Reform'd Religion, reſolve (if he ſhould eſcape free of this accuſation) that an imminent ruine hung over their Perſons and Eſtates. Neceſſity and fear combining the diſtracted powers of their minds, they come proſtrate before the King, beſeech him not ſo much to look to the quality and circumſtances of the Crime, as to the evil inclination of the man, who, powerful, factious, and naturally vindicative, would never forgive nor forget the danger he was driven unto; that his Majeſty would conſider his paſs'd life, terrible and cruel againſt all whom he could over-reach; That to give him liberty, and relieve him of his impriſonment, before the Crimes of which he was accus'd were clearly proved, or not, would be their, and the accuſers overthrow; whom they eſteemed loyal Subjects, and except upon evident probabilities, had never given informations againſt him. That he was a man perfectly hated of the People, and a more acceptable ſacrifice could not be offer'd unto their fury if he prov'd guilty. At their Supplications the King gave the Judges full power to proceed againſt him, and adminiſter Juſtice according to their Conſciences and the Laws of the Kingdom. The pannal being found guilty of ſuch points of the Indictment as was laid againſt

gainſt him, was condemned to die, and thereafter accordingly beheaded, his Quarters being ſet aloft on the Town gates his Lands annexed to the Crown.

The Crimes of which he was found guilty (as from thoſe who lived near that time have by tradition been received) were, he had intelligence with the Earl of *Anguſs* and *Douglaſſes*, whom he laboured to have reſtored, though with the Kings death, he had a plot to have broken up the Kings Chamberdoors, and killed him, devolving the title of the Crown, or at leaſt Government of the Kingdom to his kindred. Being directed to have repaired a Caſtle in Bute, and to this effect receiving three thouſand Crowns in *April*, he went not thither, attending ſome change in the State, which was to be accompliſhed by treaſon againſt the Kings perſon. He kept ſtill with him men of deſperate minds and fortunes who at his direction durſt enterprize any miſchief.

Where he had repaired ſome of the Kings houſes, he had placed a Statue reſembling himſelf, or which to ſome he had named his Statue (what Mole hills are turned into Mountains when a Prince will pry into the actions of a diſgraced Subject?) above the Kings arms. He had detracted from his Maſter, naming him the King of Clowns and Prieſts, and Scourge of the antient Nobility; He had laboured to hinder the Kings marriage at his being in *France*.

To theſe points the people (who rejoiced in his ruin) added, he had ſlain cruelly the Earl of *Lennox* at the battel of *Lithgow*, after he was Priſoner to *Purdowye*; he had way-laid *Gilbert* Earl of *Caſſiles* who was killed by his direction and Councel.

This back-blow of Fortune proveth, that it is dangerous once highly to offend a Prince, and after remain in his ſervice; for Princes put old offences up as neglected, and when the occaſion ſerveth them

them, ſurprize long after the Delinquents for ſome faults for which they are ſcarce guilty.

Sundry of the Nobility, appall'd at this ſudden fall of Sir *James Hamiltoun* (for though they loved not the Man, they hated the examples of ſuch ſtrict Juſtice) left the Court, retiring to their own dwelling Houſes: which made the King ſuſpitious of them and believe they favoured the reformed Religion, and preferred the friendſhip of King *Henry* his Uncle to his. Neither was he herein far Miſtaken: for ſome feared not to ſend him word, that they had learned the Church-men had ſet him on work to extirpate his antient Nobility, as if it were an eaſie matter to create as many out of the Gentry, in whom (being his own Creatures) he might have greater confidence than any made by his Predeceſſours.

After this he turned ſo retired, ſullen and melancholy, that every thing diſpleaſed him, and he became even inſupportable to himſelf. not ſuffering his Domeſtick Servants to uſe their ordinary diſport and recreations near him. And as all day he projected and figured to himſelf new cares to perplex himſelf, ſome of which might fall forth, others could never come to paſs; So in the night time the objects of his dayly projects of working upon his fantaſie, limmed their dark ſhadows of diſpleaſures; which gave him terrible affright in his ſleep. Amongſt many of which, two are recorded as notable; one in the Hiſtory of the Church, the other common; both ſeem to have been forged by the Men of thoſe times, who thought fictions as powerful to breed an opinion in diſcontented minds as verities, and they may challenge a place in the poetical part of Hiſtory. As he lay in the Pallace of *Lithgow* about the midſt of the night, he leaped out of his Bed, called for Lights, commandeth his Servants to ſearch *Thomas*

Scot

Scot his Juſtice Clark, who (he ſaid) ſtood by his Bed-ſide accompanied with hideous weights curſing the time that ever he had ſerved him; for by too great obedience to him, he was by the juſtice of God condemned to everlaſting torments.

Whilſt they about him laboured to cure his wounded Imagination, news came that *Thomas Scot* about the ſame hour of the Night was departed to the other World at *Edenburgh* and with no better Devotion than he was repreſented to the King.

After Sir *James Hamiltoun* had ended his part of this Tragicomedy of life, he ſeemed to the King to have returned on the Stage and in a ghaſtly manner with a naked Sword in his hands, he thought he parted both his arms from him, advertiſing him he would come again ſhortly, and be more fully revenged, till which occaſion he ſhould ſuffer theſe wounds. The next day after this viſion (which is recorded to have been the ſeventh of *Auguſt*) word came that both his Sons were deceaſed and that almoſt in one hour. *James* the Prince (then one year old) at St. *Andrews*, *Arthur* one moneth old at *Sterlin*.

The King of *England* finding himſelf diſappointed by his Nephew of their meeting, and underſtanding it to have been occaſioned by the Rhetorick and liberality of the Churchmen: having many of the Nobility of *Scotland* of his faction (whoſe innocency interpreted his Religion to be the reformed, though indeed it was of his own ſtamp, for he aboliſhed the Pope but not Papacy) by making prizes of *Scottiſh* Ships upon the Seas with his Fleet, and incurſions of his garriſon'd Souldiers upon land beginneth the prologue of an unneceſſary war.

King *James* to ſtop the *Engliſh* incurſions placeth *George Gordoun* Earl of *Huntley* with his full power and authority at the Borders, and directeth *James*

Lermound of *Darcey*, towards his Uncle, to give ſufficient reaſons of his not meeting him at *Newcaſtle*, withal to ſeek reſtitution of his Ships, ſith taken before any lawful War was proclaimed, and to expoſtulate the hoſtility of the Borderers.

King *Henry not only* refuſeth to render the Ships, or give a reaſon for the breaking forth of the Garriſons on the Borders, but delaying the anſwer of the *Scottiſh* Embaſſadour upon advantage of time, ſendeth Sir *Robert Bowes* ſeconded with the Earl of *Anguſs* and Sir *George Dowglaſs*, in hoſtile manner to invade *Scotland*. Theſe to the number of three thouſand, burn, ſpoil ſmall villages, and ravage the Country near the debatable bounds. The Earl of *Huntley* omitteth no occaſion to reſiſt them, places garriſons in *Kelſo* and *Jedburgh*, aſſembling all the hardy Borderers, and invadeth the *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* forces at a Place named *Hall-dan rig*; here it is ſoundly skirmiſhed, till the Lord *Hume* by the advancing of four hundred freſh Launces turned the fortune of the Day; for the *Engliſh* were put to flight; the Warden Sir *Robert Bowes* Captain of *Norham*, Sir *William Mowbray*, *James Dowglaſs* of *Parkhead* with the natural Son of the Earl of *Anguſs*, were taken Priſoners (the Earl by the advantage of his horſe eſcaping) with others to the number of ſix hundred. The Warden ſtaied in *Scotland* till the Kings death.

This Road happened proſperouſly to the *Scots* the 24. of *Auguſt* 1541. being a Diſe-mall St. *Bartholomew* to the *Engliſh*.

The War continuing till Midſumer, King *Henry* ſent the Earl of *Norfolk*, whom he named the Rod of the *Scots*, with great power towards *Scotland*; with him the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, *Surrey*, *Hereford*, *Anguſs*, *Rutland*, and the Lords of

of the North parts of *England*, with an Army of fourty thousand men, as they were esteemed. With them he directeth *James Lermound* of *Darcey* the *Scottish* Embassadour to keep an equal march till they came to *Berwick* and there to stay that he should not give advertisement to his Master of any of his proceedings, the Earl of *Huntley* upon advantages of places resisting the adventuring Routs who essayed to cross the *Tweed*. But King *James* hearing the old Duke of *Norfork* was their Leader, raiseth from all the parts of his Kingdom Companies, and assembling them upon *Sawtery-edge* mustered thirty thousand men. They encamped on *Falla-Moor*, the King having advertisement that the Duke would march towards *Edenburgh*: Ten thousand strong, the Lords *Hume*, *Seatoun*, *Areskin*, to make up the Earl of *Huntleys* forces, are sent towards the borders: The King himself expecting the Artillery and other furniture of War staieth with the body of the Army in the Camp. During this time it is reported the Lords plotted a Reformation of the Court, according to the example practised at *Lawder-Bridge*: especially against such who were named, Pensioners of the Priests; but because they could not agree among themselves about those who should stretch the ropes, every one striving to save his kinsman, or friend, they escaped all the danger.

That this attempt being revealed to the King, he dismist some of his favourites in great fear to *Edenburgh*. So malitious is faction armed with power.

Thomas Duke of *Norfolk*, by such in the *Scottish* Camp who favoured King *Henry*, having understood the preparation and mind of King *James* to meet him in an open field, well knowing that Fortune had that much of a woman to favour young men more than old, and that honourable retreats are

no waies inferiour to brave Charges, retireth off the *Scottiſh* ground, and keeps his Forces on their own Marches. For the valour and reſolution of this young Prince might (perhaps) ſpoil and diveſt him of his former purchaſed Lawrels and Palms, to the applauſe of King *Henry*, who, ſome thought (being weary of his ſervice) to this effect ſent him to *Scotland*. A great number of the *Lancaſtrians* and *North-Humbrians*, who, upon hopes of ſpoil, had followed him, pretending want of Victuals, and the rigorous ſeaſon of the year, with Arms and Baggage leave this Army. Having done little harm to the *Scots*, and ſuffered much hunger and cold at *Berwick*, he prepareth a retreat towards *London*.

When King *James* underſtood the Duke had repaſſed the *Tweed*, he encouraged his Army to follow him. The Common Souldier was indifferent; the Noblemen refuſe to fight except upon *Scottiſh* ground. The King urgeth them with the commodity and advantage of a Revenge of the old wrong of the Duke, commanding an Army neither of the Gentry, nor many Nobles of *England*, but of Hirelings and preſſed Artizans, whoſe number would prove hurtful to themſelves, and turn them in a diſordered confuſion. They had many days ſuffered famine, and all neceſſities of War; their vigour and courage was ſpent; that the *Engliſh* fought far off, and they at home. There wanted not matter to anſwer, but a man to deliver the King an anſwer; generally they refuſe to fight. To defend the Perſon of their Prince, the State and Countrey, they would hazard their lives, and if they had any thing more dear. If the Enemy would ſtay on *Scottiſh* ground, they would do their uttermoſt to make him retire, or by main force expel him; But to invade *England* and tempt an Army, who not only was retired

tired but returned to their own bounds, they neither had ſo juſt a quarrel as they wiſht, nor were they ſufficient at that time to purſue them. Their proviſions for War were ſpent, the Winter approached, Victuals conſumed: that deſpair often turned it ſelf into true fortitude, and men in good Order retiring would not be too near followed, that even flying Enemies ſhould have Bridges of Gold. Now if they were to charge the Enemy they would not have the Kings preſence, a man young, raſh, valorous, upon whoſe life, not only the glory of the Battel, but the life of the Common-wealth depended, his two Sons being lately departed. For if the fortune of War brought a period to his life, the Crown would remain at the mercy of the Victor; that the Kings glory was not little that he had in ſo ſhort a time with ſo ſmall Forces, and theſe ſuddenly gathered, ſtopt the progreſs of ſo mighty an Army, which was ſo long in gathering, and boaſted of ſuch great matters, yet which durſt not advance one mile in *Scottiſh* ground. Whether the *Engliſh* fly or retire, they had ſuffered as much wrong as they had done, and now to fight them (and that perhaps) with diſadvantage, was to put in hazard what was already acquired.

The Duke of *Norfolk* returning to *London*, the King with his Army cometh to *Edenburgh*, which immediately he diſbanded; but he forgot not the ſecret Plot againſt his Favourites, nor the open refuſal of his Nobles to fight on *Engliſh* ground: as if the Earth were not all one piece and Matter, and men the deſtinade inhabitants of it every where; the Cardinal *David Beatoun*, *Oliver Saintclair*, *Craggy Roſs*, and others add fewel to theſe flames, *Falla-Moor* Plot mightily inſtigating them.

The King avouched publickly, That the Nobility neither loved his honour, nor deſired his continuance amongſt them.

To cool theſe ſmoaking humors and breed in the King fairer hopes of his Nobles, the Lord *Maxwel* offereth, giving him ten thouſand men to command (if the State thought it expedient) to invade *England* at *Salloway*, affirming the State and fortune of thoſe who aſſail, to be better than theirs who are ſtill put to their defence. The *Engliſh* Forces being divided, he doubted not to ſtay longer on *Engliſh* ground than the Duke had done on the *Scottiſh*, and to effectuate ſomething to the Kings content. The King thanking him for his offer, appointeth a Rendezvous to be at the Weſt Marches. No Proclamations are divulged for the Levies of men, but cloſe Letters ſent.

The Cardinal and the Earl of *Arran* (the one a Church-man of a mind above many Nobles, the other a Nobleman of an humility under any Churchman) to give falſe perſpective to thoſe proceedings, by ſound of Trumpets, and beating of Drums raiſe men openly, march toward *Hadingtoun*, and the Eaſt Borders; Whilſt the Earls of *Caſſiles*, *Glencarn*, Lords *Flammin*, *Sommervail*, *Areskin*, Barons *Aytoun*, *Langtoun*, *Ormeſtoun*, *Waughtoun*, and many others, accompanied with the Kings domeſtick Servants ride to the Weſt Borders.

The night before the Road, the King himſelf came to *Loch-Maban*, attending the event of the incurſion. Companies coming from all quarters of the Countreys about, none knowing of another, with the power of the *Scottiſh* Borderers, paſs the Water of *Esk*, burn certain *Hamlets* of the *Grahams* on the very limits.

Sir

Sir *Thomas Whartoun* Warden of theſe Marches, not a little troubled at ſuch a frequent aſſembly of the *Scottiſh* Riders, raiſing the power of the Countrey, placeth them by a hill, where he might take a view of their Forces, in good order; with him were Baſtard *Dacres* and *Jack Muſgrave*, two valiant Captains.

The *Scottiſh* Lords beholding the *Engliſh*, range themſelves in a Battalion, deſire to know the Kings Lieutenant-General, for now it was to Marſhal their Companies, and every man to take him to his Charge. Preſently *Oliver Saintclair* upon croſſed Pikes is mounted, the Kings Banner diſplayed, and the Commiſſion read in which he is deſigned Lieutenant, and all commanded, in the Kings name, to obey and follow him.

It hath been reported by thoſe who were acquainted with *Oliver*, that the Commiſſion was not read, but that at his very ſight ſuch a tumult, confuſed clamour, and enter ſhouldering of Male contents aroſe, their Ranks were broken, the Military order turned into a confuſion, none ſo repining as the Lord *Maxwel* and the Borderers; Who if he had patience to have heard the Commiſſion (as *Oliver* proteſted) was Lieutenant, and not he, whoſe charge was only to preſent it.

The *Engliſh* who now were ready for the Fight, obſerving this diſorder, take the advantage upon the occaſion, and brake forwards with a military ſhout, whilſt the others are in doubt whether to flee or ſtand, and the Guidiats and Scullons are peſle meſle thronging with the foot Soldiers and they with the Horſemen. Here is a general ſurprize, moſt part willingly rendring themſelves to the *Engliſh* without any ſhew of defence, or the ſlaughter of any perſon of any ſide. This overthrow proveth

that neither arms nor the multitude and numbers of Souldiers without their love and hearts availeth any thing in a Field, yea rather they are hurtful the more in number they be, if their affection be alienated from their Commanders.

It is recorded that at this road, which was named *Solloway-Moſs*, every *Engliſh* had three or four *Scots* for Priſoners, and when their wanted men to take them; the women of the neighbouring Hamelet and Boys had Priſoners; the Earls of *Caſſiles* and *Glencarn*, the Lords *Maxwel*, *Flamin*, *Sommervail*, *Olivant*, *Gray*, *Robert Areskin* Son to the Lord *Areskin*, *Oliver Saintclair*; The Lairds of *Craggy*, *Aytoun*, *Langtoun*, *Ormeſtoun*, *Waughtoun*, many of the Kings Domeſtick Servants were taken Priſoners, brought to *London*, and remained there till after the Kings death.

The certainty of this voluntary defeat coming to the King at *Loch-Maban* (or *Carlawſroke* as others) ſo aſtoniſhed all the powers of his mind that he neither had counſel nor reſolution what to follow, neither remembring his own valour, nor the number of his Subjects yet flouriſhing; he remained as one diſtracted, and abandoned of all hopes. The Plot of the Nobles at *Falla-Moor* againſt his Servants, the refuſing to give battel on *Engliſh* ground, made him apprehend that the whole body of his Nobility had conſpired his overthrow.

The Cardinal and Earl of *Arran* coming to *Edenburgh*, he alſo returned; all ſo caſt down that they were aſhamed to come within ſight of each other ſome daies.

After which, in a retired manner, he paſſed to *Fyffe*, and from *Hall-yards* to *Faulkland*, where he gave himſelf over to Sorrow, No man had acceſs unto him, no, not his own Domeſticks. Now are his thoughts buſied with revenge, now with rage againſt

gainſt his ſcornful Nobility: long watchings, continuall cares, and paſſions, abſtinence from food, and recreation, had ſo extenuated his body, that pierced with grief, anguiſh, impatience, deſpair, he remained fixt to his bed.

In theſe Trances Letters come from *Lithgow* to him, That the Queen was delivered of a Daughter the eight of *December*. When he heard it was a Daughter was born, he is ſaid to have turned his face from them that read the Letters, and ſighing a farewell to the World, it will end as it began (ſays he) the Crown came by a Woman, and it will with one go; many miſeries approach this poor Kingdom; King *Henry* will either make it his by Arms or Marriage.

The Cardinal put in his hands ſome blank Papers, of which they compoſed a Letter Will, which whether he ſubſcribed or not, is uncertain. After which he ſaid not many words which could be underſtood, but muſed on the diſcomfiture of his Servants at the *Solloway-Moſs*. In which fits he left this World the thirteenth of *December* 1542. the three and thirtieth year of his Age and two and thirty of his Reign.

Some record he was troubled by an unkindly Medicine, and that the Cardinal was conſcious to it, but upon far conjectures: for the event proved that his death was not only the ruine of the Cardinal, but of the whole Church-men of the Kingdom, and frame of the *Roman* Religion. His Body was conveyed from *Faulkland* to *Edenburgh*; the Cardinal, Earls of *Arran*, *Arguyl*, *Rotheſs*, *Marſhal*, accompanying it; and in *January* buried in the Abby Church of *Holy-rood-Houſe*, near the Body of *Magdalen* his firſt Queen. He left behind him many natural Children; of his Marriages only one Daughter,

Daughter, five days old at his death, the Heir of his Kingdom and misfortunes.

This King was of a well made body and excellent mind, if it had been carefully poliſht; he was of a middle ſtature; Nature had given him ſtrength and ability equal to any; but by exerciſe he had ſo confirmed it, that he was able to endure any travel, and practiſe all feats af Arms, as his attending on Malefactors proved; for he was ordinary thought the firſt of his Troops who purſued them, and the laſt that left the chaſe, being daring and forward. In his private affairs he was attentive and liberal, yet ſpared his Treaſure that he ſhould not want, and when occaſion required, caring for no charges. Never man did entertain Soveraignty more familiarly, being of eaſie acceſs to the meaner ſort as to the great. He was ſtudious of all good Arts, naturally given to Poeſie, as many of his Verſes yet extant teſtifie. He was of as great ſobriety as of little continency; he was a great favourer of learned men. The poor men loved him, the great feared him; he made the ruſhy buſhes keep the herds of Cattel; he was thankful towards his Friends, dangerous towards his Enemies. He infinitely obliged his People by eſtabliſhing a Juſtice Court among them, and bringing all ſorts of Manufactours from Neighbour Nations home. By the *Germans* he found the Gold Mines of *Crawfoord* Moor, being unknown to this part of the World before him, out of which he extracted Treaſure. He left his Arſenals furniſht with all ſorts of Arms and furniture for War. Now as in Pictures not only the light but the ſhadow is obſervable, let us look upon him in all his umbrages. This Prince in his long purſuit of the *Dowglaſſes* ſeems to have had a ſtrange humor, that he could never forgive; And moſt of his miſeries may be traced to this

Source;

Source; these he would have extirpate, and the King of *England* could not forsake a man who was his Brother-in-Law, and had been ever obsequious to him. Seeking only that he might be restored to his own, out of which he was cast, not by any Treason or aspiring to the Crown, but of an ambition he had to be near the King, and equal to any Subject: his own worth, Kindred and Followers animated him thereunto; having Married the Kings Mother and one of the greatest Kings Sister of those times.

The burning alive of the Lady *Glames*, beheading of the Master of *Forbes*, and after him Sir *James Hamiltoun*, turned many of his Nobles from him, and made the Commons detract him. For though they delight sometimes to have great men made equal to them, when they find not evident proofs and sound grounds of their sufferings and executions, they abhor the Actors. Princes should remember that as the People are their Subjects, so are they the Subjects of Time and Providence.

This humor of revenge made many believe if he had not been prevented by death, many Scaffolds had been embrued for *Falla-Moor* Plot, and *Solloway-Moss*. The Lord *Maxwel*, who had studied the Character of the King, at that Road vowed (when he might have escaped among his known Borderers) he would rather be the KING of *Englands* Prisoner, and see him at *London*, than return home, and be shamefully hanged at the Cross of *Edenburgh*.

He studied very much the overthrow of his ancient Nobility, not considering that the Titles of Crown in Hereditary Kingdoms belong only to Kings for that they are the most Ancient Noblemen, and also first of the Primitive Blood.

In

In his laſt years he was altogether governed by *Romiſh* Prelates, dangerous Pilots in the Ocean of a troubled State; that Body in which one humour ſignorizeth, cannot laſt long, and a Prince periſheth when he is governed by only one ſort of men. Neither was he ruled ſo much by them out of great zeal to Religion (being a Prince altogether given to his own pleaſures) as that he found them counterpoiſe the Nobility, whilſt he ſwayed the ballance.

His death proveth his mind to have been raiſed to the higheſt ſtrain, and above mediocrity; for he could dye, but could not diſgeſt a diſaſter. He ſeemeth to have too much confidence in himſelf, and that he forgot the conditions of Mortality. Whilſt he ſuffered himſelf to be carried away by the current of grief, and ſwallowed up in the gulf of deſpair.

All his faults are but ſome few Warts in a moſt pleaſing and beautiful Face. He was very much beholding to the excellent Poets of his time, whoſe commendation ſhall ſerve him for an Epitaph. *Arioſto*, who knew him only by fame, in the Perſon of *Zerbino*, whom he nameth Prince of *Scotland*, glaunceth at his worth.

Zerbin di Bellezza e di Valore
Sopra tutti i Signori eminente,
Di virtu eſſempio e di Bellezza raro.

In another place; but *Ronzard*, who with his Queen came to *Scotland*, and was his Domeſtick Servant, deſcribeth him more to the life.

Ce Roy D' Eſcoſſe *eſtoit en la fleur de ſes ans:*
Ses Cheveux non tondus commine fin or linſans
Cordonnez et creſpez flotans deſſus ſa face,
Et ſur ſon col de laiſt luy donnoit bonne grace:
Son Port eſtoit royal, ſon reguard vigoureux.
De vertus, et de honneur, & de guerre amoureux.
La douceur, et la force, illuſtroient ſon viſage.
Si que Venus *et* Mars *en avoient fait partage.*

So happy is a Prince when he cheriſheth and is entertain'd by the rare ſpirits of his time, that even when his Treaſures, Pomp, State, Followers, Diadems, and all external Glory leave him, the ſweet incenſe of his Fame in the Temple of Honour, perfumeth his Altars. A Princes name is ſurer preſerved, and more deeply ingraven in Paper, than in all the ruſting Medals, blaſted Arches, entombed Tombs (which may ſerve to any as well as to him) raiſed with ſuch loſs of time, vain labours of Artizans, vaſt expence, to be the ſport of the Winds, Rains, Tempeſts, Thunder, Earthquakes, or if they ſhun all theſe, of ſuperſtition, faction and civil Broyls.

After this Prince had ſome years reſted in a Tomb, not only it, but the moſt part of the Church was made equal to the ground, by the Armies of his Uncle King *Henry* the Eight, whoſe malice left him not even when he was dead, proving as horrible an Uncle, as *Nero* was a Son. A while after he was tranſported to another Vault, by the piety of his

his matchleſs Grand-Child *James* King of *Great-Britain*; where he was embalmed again, enſhrined and his Coffin adorned with the Arms of the Kingdom, cognoſcances and a Crown. With which Honours I leave him, till ſome famous pen, encouraged by the favours of his Royal Succeſſors, raiſe his Fame from the duſt of obſcure Papers to Eternity.

THE END.

MEMO-

MEMORIALS OF STATE.

Conſiderations to the KING.

December 1632.

THere is nothing more dangerous to a King than to ſuffer Majeſty, and that ſacred reſpect which a Subject oweth him to be violated, and his Fame and Reputation leſſened by other mens boldneſs, whoſe preſumption may lead them forwards not only to dally with his Perſon, but with his Crown. But his Ears are ſo often guarded by theſe men, that he never heareth virtues till he hath granted what he cannot well amend, and his wounds be incurable. If a Prince hold any thing dear it ſhould be the Right and Title of his Crown, which concerneth not only himſelf but his Poſterity, out of which a ſmall Jewel taken away, maketh it the leſs Radiant; And to all Subjects

jects that ſhould be as Mount *Sinai*, not to be approached. In every caſe we ſhould take greater heed to what in it is hurtful, than to what is in it profitable; for what profit and commodity any thing carrieth with it, eaſily preſenteth it ſelf unto us; but any one point which may hurt us, unleſs it be obſerved and carefully taken away, may overthrow and bring to nought all that hath been rightly intended.

The reſtoring of the Earl *Monteeth* in blood, and allowing his deſcent and title to the Earldom of *Strathern* is thought to be diſadvantageous to the King's Majeſty, and that a more dangerous blow could not be given to the Nobleman himſelf. We may eaſily conjecture of things to come and imagine them by thoſe of the like nature which have proceeded. The Stage of the World is the ſame ſtill, though in times the Actors be changed, and come about again.

For the Kings Majeſty, it would be conſidered if *Henry* the ſixth King of *England* would, if it had been in his power, reclaimed the approbation reſtoring in bloud and allowing of the deſcent and title of *Richard* Duke of *York*, who openly in Parliament thereafter made claim for the Crown, as in his own right, laying down thus his title.

The Son of *Ann Mortimer* who came of *Philipe* the Daughter and ſole heir of *Leonel* Duke of *Clarence*, third Son to King *Edward* the third, is to be preferred by very good right in Succeſſion of the Kingdom before the children of *John* of *Gaunt* the fourth Son of the ſaid *Edward* the third: but *Richard* Duke of *York* is come of *Philipe* the Daughter and ſole Heir of *Leonel* Duke of *Clarence*, third Son to K. *Edward* the third, then to be preferred before the children of the fourth Son who was *Henry*.

The

The like reaſon may be alledged in the Title of the Earl of *Strathern*. The children of a firſt marriage by the common Law are to be preferred in the Succeſſion before the children of the ſecond marriage; for the marrying of *Elizabeth Moor* did but legitimate and make her children to ſucceed after the children of the firſt marriage.

As for the authority of a Parliament, it would be conſidered, whether or not the Authority of a Parliament may confer and entail a Crown from the lawful Heir thereof, to the next apparent heirs. Or if an Oath given unto a King by mans Law ſhould be performed, when it tendeth to the ſuppreſſion of Truth and Right which ſtand by the Law of God. Then if one Parliament hath power to entail a Crown, whether may not another Parliament upon the like conſiderations reſtore the ſame to the righteous heirs.

But the Subject reſigneth all his right to his King. It would be conſidered whether a ſubject may ſafely capitulate with his Prince, that is to ſay, give over and quit-claim all right and title which he hath to his Soveraigns Crown, his Right being ſufficient, and if by his capitulation his heirs be bound, and if it be honourable for a Prince to accept his conditions.

The trouble which *Edward Baliol* raiſed in *Scotland*, is yet recent to the Readers of Hiſtories.

Notwithſtanding that his Father *John Baliol* had reſigned unto *Robert* King of *Scotland* all the right and title which he or any other of his had, or thereafter might have to the Crown of *Scotland* concerning any intereſt or claim which might be avouched for any cauſe or conſideration: He, *anno* 1355. gave to *Edward* the third, King of *England*, a full reſignation of his pretended Right of the Crown of *Scotland*, As before, being aſſiſted by the ſaid King and the confederate Gentlemen of *Scotland* in a Parlia-

ment holden at *Perth*, where he had been confirmed King of *Scotland* by the three Eſtates.

It would be conſidered if the Pope, the Kings of *Spain* or *France* after ſome revolutions of years, ſeeking to trouble the ſtate and peace of this Iſle, ſhould entertain and maintain one of the Heirs of the Earls of *Strathern* (as *Queen Elizabeth* did *Don Antonio* the Prior of *Crato*, who claimed the Crown of *Portugal*, to reclaim whoſe Kingdom She ſent the Earl of *Eſſex* and *Drake*) or ſhould marry one of them to their neereſt Kinſwomen, and ſend him armed with power to claim his Title to the Crown of *Scotland*, as King *James* the fourth of *Scotland* practiſed upon *Perkin Warbeck*, naming himſelf *Richard* Duke of *York*; to whom he gave in marriage Lady *Katharine Gordoun* Daughter to the Earl of *Huntley*, and thereafter with all his forces, to eſtable his ſaid Ally in his Title, invaded *England*. It would be conſidered whether they had a fair bridge to come over to this Iſle.

It would likewiſe be conſidered if the Earl of *Strathern*, though a mean Subject, theſe two hundred years, having been debarred from all title to the Crown, and now by the indulgency and exceeding favour of the Prince, being reſtored to his deſcent in blood and ſerved Heir to his great Progenitors, and indirectly as by appendices to the Crown, if either out of diſpleaſure. or for want of means to maintain their eſtates, he or his ſhould ſell and diſpoſe their Rights and Titles of the Kingdom of *Scotland* to ſome mighty and Foreign Prince, ſuch as is (perhaps this day the King of *Sweden*) who wanteth nothing but a title to invade a Kingdom, not knowing whither to diſcharge his victorious forces. It would be conſidered if that title diſpoſed to that Prince were ſufficient to make him King of *Scotland*. Or

if

if eſtabliſhing his right upon fair conditions, ſuch as is liberty of conſcience, abſolution and freedom from all taxes and ſubſidies, the transferring of Ward lands into fewd, the people of *Scotland* might give him their Oath of Allegiance; or if he might redact the King of *Scotland* to give him ſatisfaction and compound for his right of the Crown of *Scotland*.

It would to theſe be conſidered, If times ſhould turn away the minds of Subjects from their Prince, by ſuperſtition, ſedition and abſolute Rebellion, as what may not befall an inconſtant ever wavering Nation, to an *Ariſtocratie*, *Oligarchy*, *Democratie*, or abſolute *Anarchy*? If the Rebellious ſubjects and abuſed Populace might not make advantage of ſuch Men, who draw their titles from *Evanders* mother to trouble the preſent times.

That nothing could be more dangerous to the Nobleman himſelf than this ſervice, may be underſtood by the like examples.

Clouis King of *France* having underſtood that a Nobleman of *Artois* named *Canaçare* blown up by Powder, had vaunted that he was come and lineally deſcended from *Clodion le Chevelu*, and by that ſame Succeſſion was heir of the Crown of *France*, cloſed not his ears to it (ſaies the Hiſtory) but cauſed extirpate that Sower of impoſtures and all his Race.

Henry the fourth King of *England* after the depoſure of King *Richard* the ſecond, kept *Edmond Mortimer* Earl of *March*, who had a juſt title to the Crown, under ſuch Keepers that he could never do nor attempt any thing till he dyed. But *Henry* the ſeventh King of *England* took away *Edward Plantaginet* Duke of *Warwick* Heir to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, by reaſon of his jealouſie of Succeſſion to his Uncle *Edward* the fourth.

Margaret Plantaginet his ſole Daughter (married to Sir *Richard Pole* knight) by *Henry* the eight reſtored to the Earldom of *Salisbury*, was attained threeſcore and two years after her Father had ſuffered and was in the Tower of *London* beheaded, in whoſe perſon dyed the ſurname of *Plantaginet*.

Ann Plantaginet Daughter to *Edward* the fourth, being marryed to *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey* and Duke of *Norfolk* was the ground and chief cauſe wherefore King *Henry* the eight, cut off the head of *Henry* Earl of *Surrey*; though the pretended cauſe whereon he was arraigned was the bearing certain arms of the houſe of *York*, which only belonged to the King.

Mary Queen of *England* cut off the head of Lady *Jane Gray* and the Lord *Guilford* her Husband, for their title to the Crown; and that ſame reaſon was the overthrow and finall deſtruction of *Mary* Queen of *Scotland* by Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Duke of *Guiſe* by a Genealogy deduced from *Charles* the Great, in the reign of *Henry* the third, the *French* King, was thought to aſpire to the Crown of *France*, and ſuffered at laſt for this and his other preſumptions.

It is notoriouſly known, that theſe two hundred years the Race of *Euphane Roſs* in her children *David* Earl of *Strathern* and *Walter* Earl of *Athol*, and all their Succeſſion by all the Kings of *Scotland* ſithence, have been ever ſuppreſſed and kept under, and for reaſon of State ſhould ſtill be kept low and under, unleſs a Prince would for greater reaſon of State advance them, to give them a more horrible blow, and by ſuborning mercenary men, make them aim above their reach to their laſt extirpation.

Dum neſciunt diſtinguere inter ſumma & precipitia,
Princeps quem perſequitur honorat & extollit in altum.

An

An intended Speech at the West Gate of Edenburgh *to King* JAMES.

SIR,

IF Nature could ſuffer Rocks to move and abandon their natural places, this Town, founded on the ſtrength of Rocks (now by the chearing Rays of your Majeſties preſence, taking not only motion but life) had with her Caſtle, Temples and Houſes, moved towards you, and beſought you to acknowledge her yours, and her indwellers your moſt humble and affectionate Subjects; And to believe how many ſouls are within her Circuits, ſo many lives are devoted to your ſacred Perſon and Crown. And here Sir, She offers by me to the Altar of your glory, whole Hecatombs of moſt happy deſires; praying all things may prove proſperous unto you; that every Virtue and Heroick Grace which make a Prince eminent, may with a long and bleſſed Government attend you. Your Kingdoms flouriſhing abroad with Bays, at home with Olives; preſenting you Sir, who art the ſtrong Key of this little World of *Great-Britain*, with thoſe keys which caſt up the Gates of her affection, and deſign you power to open all the ſprings of the hearts of thoſe her moſt Loyal Citizens.

Yet this almoſt not neceſſary; For as the Roſe at the fair appearing of the morning Sun, diſplayeth and ſpreadeth her purples; So at the very noiſe of your happy return to this your native Countrey; their hearts (if they could have ſhined through their breaſts) were with joy and fair hopes made ſpatious. Nor did they ever in all parts feel a more comfortable heat, than the glory of your preſence at this time darteth upon them.

The old forget their age and look freſh and young at the appearance of ſo gracious a Prince; the young bear a part in your Welcom, deſiring many years of life, that they may ſerve you long; all have more Joys than Tongues. For as the words of other Nations far go beyond and ſurpaſs the affection of their hearts; So, in this Nation the affection of their hearts is far above all they can expreſs by words. Daign then Sir from the higheſt of Majeſty, to look down on their lowneſs and embrace it; accept the homage of their humble minds; accept their grateful zeal; and for deeds accept that great good will which they have ever carried to the high deſerts of your Anceſtors; And ſhall ever to your own, and your Royal Race, whilſt thoſe rocks ſhall be overſhadowed with buildings, buildings inhabited by men, and while men be induced, either with Counſel or Courage, or enjoy any piece of Reaſon, Senſe, or Life.

An Apologetical Letter.

March 2. 1635.

My Lord,

IN a time when men for reading of Papers concerning State are challenged, it muſt be a great hazard to write them, and a greater to ſend them from home, and the moſt to ſend them to one ſo near the Helm as is your Lordſhip, who the next day (perhaps) may put in the Princes hands what is ſent him. And then, though what is ſet down may be free of great faults, yet muſt it paſs and be underſtood as it pleaſeth the Prince to conſtrue it. But what

what *Marius Geminus* ſaid to *Julius Cæſar*, may be ſaid to King *Charles*; *Cæſar, qui apud te audent dicere, magnitudinem tuam ignorant; qui non audent, humanitatem.* And writing to your Lordſhip I know to whom I write. Thus the way of glory lying near the Gates of danger, I have adventured this ſheet of Paper of which I beſeech your Lordſhip to be both Judge and Patron.

What a noiſe hath been raiſed in this Countrey by proſecuting a piece of writing, ſuppoſed to be derogatory to the Honour of the Kings Majeſty! No times have been without ſuch men. Wiſe men keep their thoughts locked up in the Cabinets of their Breaſts, and ſuffer the faults of times patiently; Fools rail, cry out, but amend nothing. What ever advice hath been given for the putting of Libellers to the extremity of Law, I would ſay (with all humble reſpect to grave Stateſmen) that in a matter of a Calumny and reproach with Subjects, a Prince can do nothing more fitting his own fame and reputation, than to ſlight and contemn them, as belonging nothing to him; and that 'twere better to neglect, than be too curious in ſearching after the Authors. So *Theodoſius*, *Honorius Arcadius* were wont to ſay, If any man ſpeak ill of the Emperour, if he do it of lightneſs, it is to be contemned; if of madneſs, to be pitied; if of injury to be remitted. And *Alexander* the Great uſed to ſay, *Regium eſt benefacere & male audire*; or as *Plutarch* reporteth it, *Regium eſt à quibus male audias, magis eſſe iis beneficum.* *Nero* (otherwiſe a terrible Prince) when that Paſquil was given out againſt him?

Quis neget Æneæ magna de ſtirpe Neronem?
Suſtulit hic Matrem, ſuſtulit ille Patrem.

Or as *DION* citeth it,

Νερων, Ορεστης, Αλκμαιων, Ματροκτονοι.
Nero, Oreſtes, Alcmæon, Matricidæ.

He took no notice of it, followed not the Writers with any puniſhment, ſought them not, as ye find in *Suetonius*, *Et quoſdam ad Judicem delatos ad Senatum, affici graviore pœna prohibuit.* Writings which we ſcorn and make none account, of themſelves vaniſh and turn into nought. If we chafe and fret, it would appear that we have been therein touched, and vively ſee in them our own faults and miſdemeanor taxed and laid open.

If theſe Papers for the Kings honour were not to be ſeen and read, or if they did derogate to the fame of the Nobles, why were they not ſuppreſſed and hidden? But is this the way to ſuppreſs and hide them? To impriſon, arraign, baniſh, execute the perſons near whom they are found? Or is it not rather to turn them a piece of the Story of the Time to make ſuch a noiſe about them, and by ſeeking to avoid the ſmoak to fall into the fire? What we would moſt evite and ſhun, to be the Authors to bring upon our own heads?

What gained Queen *Elizabeth* the twenty three of her Reign, by cutting off the hands of *Stubbes* and *Page* on a Scaffold for writing that Book againſt her Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*, ſave that out of horror of that new and unpractiſed puniſhment, the People acknowledged her to be the right and not uncertain Daughter of King *Henry* the Eight, and ſhe began to be feared, where before ſhe was beloved of her Subjects? Whom a People fear they hate, and whom they hate they wiſh taken away. A Prince ſhould be more violent in

reveng-

revenging other mens quarrels than his own. That unfortunate Duke of *Buckingham* in the time of *Richard* the Third, could make good uſe, againſt the Succeſſion of the Race of *Edward* the Fourth, in his Speech to the Commons of *London*, by remembring them of the ſtrange proceedings of King *Edward* againſt a Merchant named *Burdet*: who dwelling at the Sign of the Crown, and having ſaid to his Son, that after his death he would make him Heritor of the Crown, meaning his own Houſe, was for this Tale in four hours after quartered, which blot is eternally fixed to that Prince.

In the Reign of King *Richard* the Third, who had ever known that Paſquil againſt three of his Courtiers, *Louell*, *Ratcliff*, and *Catsby*,

The Rat, *the* Cat, *and* Louel *that* Dog,
Rule all England *under the* Hog.

If his Tyranny had not been mightily extended againſt that poor Gentleman *Collingburn* the Maker of it? Ye will ſay, it is in a Princes power to ſuppreſs ſuch Papers by Authority; That is the only way to make all men ſeek them, and being found highly prize them. *Tacitus* telleth us of certain Verſes of *Fabricius Viento* againſt Church-men and Senators, which were condemned to be burnt; as long as the reading and finding of them was dangerous, they were much ſought for, and with danger read: but being afterwards licentiate to be read, and the liberty of having them obtained, they were forgotten and no man cared for them.

No Prince, how great ſoever, can aboliſh Pens, nor will Memorials of ages be extinguiſhed by preſent power; the poſterity rendring to every one, his due honour and blame. It is true that great men

ſhould

should direct their great care to Fame and hold nothing more dear unto them; and he who contemneth it, neglecteth those actions by which it is acquired: But it is pitty men should be more careful and studious of fame for times to come, in which they are not, than of honesty in the present times in which they live.

Sometimes it is great wisdom in a Prince not to reject and disdain them who freely tell him his duty, and open to him his misdemeanours to the Commonwealth, and the surmises and umbrages of his People and Council for the amending disorders, and bettering the form of his Government. As if a man should tell King *Charles*, That there is none in all his Kingdoms here can reckon himself Lord of his own Goods amongst so many Taxes and Taillages, so much pilling and polling. So that substance is daily plucked and pilled from honest men to be lashed out amongst unthrifts, that as *Thucydides* writes of the great Plague in his time at *Athens*, Men seeing no hopes of safety spent all they had in one night: So the uncertainty of enjoying and holding what they have for the present draws the thrifty and unthrifty to one end, for no man being sure of Lands, less of Moneys, every man is turned in a desperate carelesness of his Estate.

As to tell him also about this Subject, who is the subject of this Letter, the People say, Kings seeking Treason shall find Land, and seeking Land shall find Treason. The denial of a Princes desire was the destruction of an innocent *Naboth*; the voice of the People should not be kept up from the Ears of a Prince.

As to unfold to a King, if Usury be not lawful at all (for it is against Nature that Money should beget Money, and not tolerate by the Mosaical Law,

and

and in *Ezekiel*, cap. 18. v. 13. it is reckoned amongst the roaring sins, such as are Adultery and bloudshed) it being a sin in the persons of subjects, it is a greater sin in the person of a Prince; for any sin is greater in the person of a Prince, than in the persons of subjects: As sin was worse and greater in Angels than men. Nothing is profitable to a Prince which is not joined with honour; and the State of Kings unless it stand in pureness and fidelity, it cannot subsist in power.

As to tell King *Charles*, what a strange thing it is to swaer a man for the true value of his own Substance. Since the valuing of Subjects Lands and Rents, Rents were never less, nor the Lands worse; a secret scourge of God having followed it, the Country scarce affording bread to the Labourers of it.

Remember *Davids* numbring the people. In the times of King *Henry* the eight, *Regnante Cardin. Volseio*, this was held uncouth, strange and terrible; and no wonder if men scare and start at it now, under a Prince of so meek a Spirit, so innocently good: who preferreth peace before war, rest before business, honesty before profit: None of all his kingdom, no, not one being more holy, more chaste, nor a better man; in whom reigneth shamefastness and modesty and patience, taking all worldly crosses in good part: never gaping for glory, nor thirsting after riches: but only studying the health of his soul, peace of his Kingdoms, and how to advance the holy Church, and restore her to her first Rents and integrity. But God knoweth what he hath predestinated and ordained for the Scourge of this Country, against whose Ordinance prevaileth no counsel.

A Prince should be advertised that the hatred and distast of mens present estates and fortunes setteth them

them on work and maketh them exceeding earneſt to ſeek novations; for finding themſelves plunged in the beggary of a miſerable eſtate, as many do believe, it turneth not them baſe, nor keepeth them under, but raiſeth in them a mad deſire to change their fortune; and this hath been the enſign of Male-contents to attempt and enterprize dangerous matters; for it hath often been found that nothing hath ſooner armed a people than poverty, and poverty hath never ſo often been brought upon a Nation by the unfruitfulneſs of the Earth, by diſaſters of Seas, and other human accidents, as by the Avarice of the Officers and Favourites of Princes; who are brought fooliſhly to believe that by tearing of the skins of the flock they ſhall turne the Shepherd rich. It is no property of a good Shepherd to ſhear often his flock, and ever to milk them. Nor is it of a Prince to gall and perpetually afflict a people by a terrible Exchequer. *Brutorum ſe Regem facit qui premit ſuos.* Now in ſuch Theams it were not evil for a Prince to read *Jan Marianai* and *George Buchanans* piece *de jure Regni apud Scotos*, for his own private and the publick good.

Princes have in their actions this diſadvantage, that in matters of wrong and injuries concerning their Subjects, though they ſometimes ſuffer, by reaſon of their power, being thought ſtronger, they are ever eſteemed to do the wrong, which ſhould move them to abſtain from all violent courſes, and think really their Subjects loſſes are their own.

Ye will then ſay, the caſe of Princes is pittiful if Writers of infamous Libels be not rigorouſly puniſhed; without all queſtion the Law is juſt and neceſſary againſt them. But in ſome caſes good Princes never follow the rigour and extremity of puniſhment ſet down by their Laws, no, not againſt the naugh-

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neſt Subjects, and eſpecially when the caſe concerneth their own particulars. There is much to be conſidered in the convoy of ſuch Libels: If they contain Truths there is ſmall wrong in ſuch papers, as to call *Mary Magdalen* a Sinner, *Matthew* a Publican, *Thomas* a Misbeliever, *Paul* a Perſecutor, *Peter* a Denyer of his Maſter, and the reſt fugitives from him, and theſe are to be ſlighted and paſt over, If they contain mixed truths and apparences, they may be neglected; If they admit no interpretation, but true and flat railing, then is a Princes patience to be tryed, and the Libel to be ſcorned. If they propound novelty and cauſes of ſedition upon apparent grounds, they are to be anſwered, and by good reaſon to be overthrown. If they be preſented by way of Supplication for redreſſing of errors in the State, it is a queſtion whether they be Libels or not. That Supplication of *Humphrey* Duke of *Glouceſter* to King *Henry* the ſixt of *England* againſt the Cardinal of *Wincheſter* Archbiſhop of *York* may have place amongſt Libels; for the King is taxed there of notable dotage. As that by the counſel of the Cardinal, he had ſet at Liberty the King of *Scots*, ſuffered his Jewels and houſhold-ſtuff to be ſold, granted the Cardinal a Charter of Pardon for taking up his Rents, which were ſufficient to have maintained the wars in *France* many years. The ſetting of the Duke of *Orleance* at liberty, againſt the Duke of *Burgundy* the great friend of the *Engliſh*, and many other points. Yet this being done by way of Supplication, for redreſs of wrongs in the State, he was not threatened for (perhaps) verity, but remitted to the Council, and what for fear, and what for favor (ſaith the *Engliſh* Hiſtory) the whole matter was winked at touching the Duke, and nothing ſaid againſt the Cardinal, *Miſeria ſumma ubi de injuria conqueri pro delicto habetur.* Theſe

These who set their Prince on work to follow and persue such an idle piece of Paper, if they had fair Judges, and powerful Enemies near the Court, may themselves be brought within compass of that same punishment, which they would have laid upon others; as *Perillus* was brought to take an Essay of his own brazen Bull: for no better are they which relate, divulgate and are occasioners to have infamous Libels published, than they which write them. And these men have done what in them lay to make that Paper publick, and have recorded in the *Annals* of this Kingdom to all ages, what should have been smothered in the darkest pits of Oblivion. They have often assembled the Kings Majesties Subjects to the great charges and vain attendance of many Noblemen and Barons to see their passions put forward. They have bused the Prince to condemn others by power (a Minister of their attempts) and not purge himself to posterity; for such a Paper should have been answered by a Pen, not by an Ax. There is no Prince living, no, nor dead, but Subjects have and do both write and speak of after their fantasies. *Augustus* in a Letter to *Tiberius*, *Noli in hac re indagare & nimium indignari quemquam esse qui de me loquatur male; satis est enim si hoc habemus ne quis malefacere possit.* And *Tiberius* in the beginning of his Reign (though after he killed *Cremutius Cordus* for words) was wont to say, *in Civitate libera linguam quoque liberam esse debere.* Wise Princes have never troubled themselves much about talkers; weak spirits cannot suffer the liberty of Judgments, nor the indiscretion of Tongues. To strive to restrain them is the work of base Bodies, who would fain have somewhat to do, but know not what, nor how to help *Domitian* to kill gnats with his Dagger; having won points and conclusions

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heretofore in the State beyond their hopes, they begin to foster great and shameful hopes beyond the reach of all obtaining. A Prince should be such towards his Subjects as he should have God eternal towards him, who full of mercy spareth peopled Cities, and darteth his Thunders amongst the vast and wild Mountains.

To ARABELLA *Countess of* Lothian.

Madam,

AS those Ancients who when they had given over with credit any faculty wherein they excelled, were wont to offer the Tools and Instruments of their Art to the Shrine of some Deity: My Musical recreations giving place to more laborious, serious, (my Lute these many days (like my mind) lying out of tune, keeping no harmony in perfect discord) I offer these airs and tabulature to your Ladiships harmonious Virtues; and to whom could they more deservedly appertain, than unto her whose goodness of nature, and eminent known virtues of mind, may justly intitle the only Grace and Muse of our Northern Climate. Though the Gift be not much worth, I hope your Ladiship will daign to accept it as if it were a greater and more precious from a Giver brought already in admiration of your Ladiships worth, and who desireth nothing more than to remain,

Your Ladiships to Command,

W. DRUMMOND.

To

To ISABELLA *Countess of* Perth.

Madam,

YOur Courteſie hath prevented me, it being mine to offer you thanks, both for eſteeming me worthy ſo honourable a Task, and for meaſuring thoſe lines according to affection, and not their worth; for if they had any, it was all (as the Moon hath her light) borrowed from the Rays of your Ladiſhips own invention. But this quality becometh well your ſweet diſpoſition, and the generoſity of that Noble Stem of which you have your Birth; as doth the erecting of that notable Monument to your all-worthy Lord; by the which ye have not only obliged all his Kindred now living, but in ages to come the unborn poſterity to render you immortal Thanks. Your Deſert and good opinion of me have by a gracious violence (if I can be ſo happy as to do you ſervice) won me to remain, your Ladiſhips,

Ever to Command,

W. DRUMMOND.

To the Right Honourable JOHN *Earl of* Perth.

My Noble Lord,

THough as *Glaucus* ſays to *Diomed* in *Homer*,

Like the Race of Leaves, the Race of Man is,

That deſerves no Queſtion: nor receives his being any

any other breath; the Wind in *Autumn* ſtrows the Earth with old Leaves, then the Spring the Woods with new indews; yet I have ever thought the knowledge of Kindred, and the Genealogies of the ancient Families of a Countrey, a matter ſo far from contempt, that it deſerveth higheſt praiſe. Herein conſiſteth a part of the knowledge of a mans own ſelf. It is a great ſpur to virtue to look back on the worth of our Line. In this is the memory of the dead preſerved with the living: being more firm and honourable than any Epitaph. The living know that band which tieth them to others. By this man is diſtinguiſhed from the reaſonleſs, and the noble of Men from the baſer ſort. For it often falleth out, though we cannot tell how, for the moſt part, that generoſity followeth good Birth and Parentage. This moved me to eſſay this Table of your Lordſhips Houſe, which is not inferior to the beſt in this Iſle and greateſt. It is but roughly (I confeſs) hewen, nakedly limmed, and after better informations, to be amended. In Pieces of this kind, who doth according to ſuch light as he receiveth, is beyond reprehenſion.

Your Lordſhips humble

Servant and Kinſman,

W. DRUMMOND.

To the Right Honourable J. *Earl of* T.

My Lord,

THe Ocean, though great Rivers with many Currents pay him Tribute, diſdains not to receive alſo the leſſer loyal, though ignoble, Brooks, which by one only Urn powre themſelves into his boſom; no more will your Lordſhip after the many congratulations of your Countrey, of the State, of your great Friends, reject the applauſe of the Muſes (fair, though contemned, Miſtreſs) who by me offer this Poſie of Flowers to your Lordſhip (who is the flower of Nobleneſs) in acknowledgment of your Lordſhips conſtant zeal towards them, and their many obligations towards you, congratulating your proſperous Fortunes, which they wiſh to encreaſe, and praying the heavens at laſt may turn ſo propitious to virtue and true worth, that though they do not reward them upon Earth, yet the World may ſee that they do not ſuffer them ever to lie oppreſſed. They have fair hopes that the advancement of your Lordſhip is the advancement of them, for the body preceding, the ſhadow muſt follow. Your Lordſhip being near the Helm of the State, they expect a new *Saturnian* World: Knowledge muſt flouriſh, ignorance decay (as Miſts before the Sun) Innocency live guarded, oppreſſion trampled, and they ſhall no longer hereafter have occaſion to wiſh, ask, or complain.

Your Lordſhips Servant,

W. DRUMMOND.

To

To the truely Noble S. R. C. *Gentleman of the Kings Majeſties Bed-Chamber.*

SIR,

HOw joyful were all here who either love worth in others or are conſcious of any part of it in themſelves, to hear the happy event of your late danger? but yet the apprehenſion of what might have fallen forth (if Providence had not otherwiſe diſpoſed) doth ſtill with a penſive fear poſſeſs their minds. It was too much hazarded in a point of Honour; why ſhould true Valour have anſwered fierce Barbarity, Nobleneſs Arrogancy, Religion Impiety, Innocency Malice? The diſparagement being ſo vaſt. Was it for knowing this when ye left us, that ye graved with your *Diamond* in a Window;

Frail Glaſs thou beareſt this name as well as I,
And none doth know in which it firſt ſhall dye.

And had ye then to venter to the hazard of a Combate the exemplary of virtue, and the Muſes Sanctuary? The lives of twenty ſuch as his who hath fallen, in Honours Ballance would not counterpoiſe your one. Ye are too good for theſe times, in which, as in a time of Plague, men muſt once be ſick, and that deadly, ere they can be aſſured of any ſafety. Would I could perſuade you in you in your ſweet walks at home to take the proſpect of Court Shipwracks; forgive mine importunity, your many courteſies in my behalf, and the World, which is a

Witneſs of them, force me to bear a part in all your Fortunes, and ever, whilſt I remain my ſelf to be,

To ſerve you,

February 10.
1620. W. DRUMMOND.

To the Right Honourable Earl of L.

My Noble Lord,

OF that duty I owe to your Lordſhip, and love to your honourable Father, I have adventured to bear a part in his Obſequies, a work I muſt confeſs profuſe; no Verſes of mine, nor any others, having power to add any thing to his noble Memory, being ſo ſtrongly upholden by your Lordſhip, and his other excellent Children, that it is like to be contemporary with the World. For whatſoever hath now failed of the honour I intended, I beſeech your Lordſhip to accept my ſerviceable and infallible love for all ſupplement. If your Lordſhip eſteem theſe among the Scutcheons, Colours, and other day-laſting Ornaments of the Funeral pomp, I ſhall hold them ſufficiently honoured, and in what is within the compaſs of my power, remain,

Your Lordſhips ever to Command,

W. DRUMMOND.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Perth.

My Noble Lord,

IN this ſtorm of the State I had reſolved to ſet my affairs in order, expoſing all to the hazard of what might fall forth, and fly to the ſhadow of your Lordſhip, finding at this time, that not to prove true, *Minima Parvitate ſua tuta ſunt*; for the humility of my fortune, and my retired and harmleſs form of living, could not ſave me from being imployed to ſerve here the ambition of the great Maſters of the State; as if I had no more to do with time, I was appointed to ſpend it in attending the Committee of the Shire; at my firſt initiation charged to be at that fatal ſervice, and horrible execution of *Dunglaſs*; they directed me to ravage and plunder the more peaceable neighbours about; this *Trojan* Horſe laboured to give me a command over Horſes. All which imployments being contrary to my Education and Eſtate, knowing, that *Pareil ſier Pareil a nulla Puiſſance*, and that they were not my lawful Maſters, I ſhunned and performed no more than pleaſed me, which acquired me no ſmall Spight. If the Parliament of *England*, and matters ſince fallen forth, had not a little cooled this fervency or frenzy, I knew not where to have found ſanctuary, ſave with your Lordſhip, nor knew I what thanks to render your Lordſhip, for your gracious protection, and many courteſies offered me. If I ſhould ſacrifice my Fortunes, Liberty, Life, I would rather loſe them for your Lordſhip, than for any *Democracy*. Your Lordſhips favours ſhall ever be remembred, and ſought to be deſerved

in what is within the compaſs of performing, and power of.

Your Lordſhips

Humble Servant,

Hawthorn-Den
Decem. 1. 1640.

W. DRUMMOND.

To the Learned and Worthy Gentle-woman.

Worthy M.

I Should be too ambitious, I will not ſay arrogant, if I thought that honour, which you give me in your delicate Verſes to be due to the honoured, and not rather to the honourer. They reflect and turn back unto your ſelf (as to a more renowned wonder) that praiſe by deſert, which ye beſtow upon me of your meer courteſie. Alas my Muſes are of no ſuch value to deſerve the blazon of ſo pregnant and rare a wit. Perhaps ye raiſed them to ſhow the highneſs of your ſpirit, which ever tranſcendeth mean meaſures, or to make known how excellently ye can praiſe any thing that you pleaſe. But howſoever (praiſe being the reward of virtue, and proceeding from ſo ſound a judgment, and one ſo praiſe-worthy) I will think hereafter my Muſes worthy praiſe, becauſe ye held them ſuch, or if they were ſuch before, that they were ſuch becauſe they were ordained to be praiſed and loved of you. I can but admire your engine and thank your courteſie, and wiſh that time and fortune may prove ſo gracious, accompliſhing my deſires, to make me know

know how to acquite you, till which occaſion as ever you have me.

Your moſt.

To his Worthy Friend, S. G. K.

SIR,

WHen out of curioſity this laſt week I had entred theſe large and ſpatious Galleries, in which the Fair of St. *German* is kept, and had viewed the diverſe Merchandize and Wares of the many nations at that Mart, above the reſt I was much taken with the daintineſs of the many Pourtraicts there to be ſeen. The devices, Poſies, Ideas Shapes, Draughts, of the Artificers were various, nice, and pleaſant. Scarce could the wandring thought light upon any Story, Fable, Gayety, which was not here repreſented to the view. If *Cebes* the *Theban* Philoſopher made a Table hung in the Temple of *Saturn*, the Argument of his rare *Moralities*, and *Jovius* and *Marini*, the Pourtraicts in their *Galleries* and *Libraries* the ſubject of ſome books; I was brought to think I ſhould not commit a great fault, if I ſent you for a token, from this Mart a Scantling of this Ware: which affordeth a like contentment to the Beholder and poſſeſſour.

The Pictures of the *Roman Emperours* appeared in one Plate, thoſe of the Biſhops with the Triple Crowns in another, with thoſe of all the Kings and great Princes in *Europe*. *Lucretia* was ſhewing her bleeding breſt; on this Table *Flora* her bewitching Twins, on that not far from theſe, *Mars* is ſurprized by the *Lemnian*, and the Senate of the Gods are all

laughing; near by *Jupiter* is coming down in a Golden Showre in his *Danaes* lap. One would have wiſhed *Argos* his eyes to gaze on *Hellen* in the prime of her beauty, as when the *Phrygian* Youth ſtole her away, or *Theſeus*, in one place of the Table, and ſee her diſtilling tears for the ruin of *Troy* in another. The *Agamemnon* of *Timantes* at the ſacrifice of *Hermione* was here to be ſeen. And what did ſurpaſs that in Invention, a Painter had hidden the imperfection of the work of his Work, who having painted a Lady which had but one eye, he had ſet her face ſo cunningly that her one ſide appearing only to the view, left a deſire in the Beholder, to wiſh for the other, which one could not but imagine beautiful, at which ſhe ſeemed to ſmile. The Father of our Factions, *Meonides* himſelf, was here repreſented with cloſed eyes, and a long beard of the colour of the Night, to whom was the honour af *Mantua* adjoined, his head wreathed with Baies, his face was ſomewhat long, his cheeks ſcarce with a ſmall down diſcrying his Sex; that they might be known after ſo many years, the Crafts-man had ſet down, *They were thus ſtanding in the* Roman *Capitol.* The *Cyprian* Goddeſs was in divers ſhapes repreſented. The firſt was naked as ſhe appeared on the Hills of *Ida*, or when ſhe aroſe from her foamy Mother, but that ſhe ſhould not bluſh, the Painter had limmed her entring a Green Arbour, and looking over her ſhoulder; ſo that there were only ſeen her back and face. Another had drawn her naked, her face, breſts, belly to the view expoſed, her blind child by her, but to cover that which delighted *Mars* ſo much, he made her arm deſcend to take hold on *Cupid*, who did imbrace her. The third had drawn her lying on a Bed with ſtretched out arms, in her hand ſhe preſented to a young man (who was adoring her, and at whom

little

little Love was directing a Dart) a fair face, which with much ceremony he was receiving. but on the other ſide, which ſhould have been the hinder part of that head, was the Image of death; by which *mortality* he ſurpaſſed the others more than they did him by *Art*. It were to be wiſhed this picture were ſtill before the eyes of dolting lovers. On a Table there was a horſe tumbling on his back with his four feet towards the Heaven, which was thought to be *Sejanus* ſo fatal to his Maſters, being ſo proportionable and to the life painted, a *German* offered Gold for him, but he accuſed the Painter that he had not painted him running: which the Painter eaſily amended by turning up of the other ſide of the Table: ſo ſmall a diſtance is between the extremities of mortal things. So with little pains a countenance laughing is made to weep, and one weeping to laugh. Whoſe thoughts are ſo ſad and fixed to the cares of this World, which could not have been ſequeſtred for a time from them, and delighted with the aſpect of the countenances of the Ladies of the differing Climates of the Globe of this Earth, repreſented unto us as the blazing aſteriſms of Heaven? The *Spaniſh* ſeeming proud and diſdainful, but that her eye ſpok eſomewhat elſe, and her pale colour approaching to aſhes, did ſhow ſhe harboured languiſhing perturbations. The *French* looking Courteous and toward, but ſuch courteſie and towardneſs ſeemed not to entertain baſe imaginations. The *Engliſh* mild and humble with ſuch eyes as *Venus* uſed to ſmile with in the daies of *Homer*. The *Venetian* Lady appeared the Nobleſt Lover, for ſhe neither thundered deſpair nor promiſed hope, yet did ſhe lend her ear to the ſoul-charming ſounds of a Lute. The *Roman* was almoſt naked from the waſt upwards, diſcovering the Siſtering Apples of her *Breſt*, and what might be, without a

bluſh,

blush, seen, which should have rowsed old *Nestor*. The *Grecian* resembled *Our English*, but her face was more *Round*; She wore on her head a *Garland*, which made her look more *Grave* than the *Others*. The *Turkish* differed little from the *Roman*, only She somewhat appeared more *Thais* like. The *Moorish* had her eyes black, rolling and wanton, and her face was as black as her eyes. Where (who would think it, save he who did see it?) by the comely proportion of her face. Her shining hair enriched with Jewels, and her ears beautified with Gemms, she was near as pleasant (beauty mustering it self in blackness and a comely behaviour) as those others of *Europe*. I had almost forgotten the *Belgick* and these neighbour Countries, in whom the pure natural colours of beauty appeared. The first to show the lightness of her sex, was all in Feathers, the others differed not much from her but was further off from *Art*, and looked more Countrey-like.

Not far from those was *Cassandra*, her hairs so covering her face that *Lycophron* might well know her. The *Sybels* by her sighed out their Prophecies.

To these was joined the Picture of a young Lady, whose hair drew near the colour of *Amber*, but with such a bright lustre that it was above *Gold* or *Amber*, her eyes were somewhat green, her face round, where the Roses strove to surpass the Lillies of her Cheecks, and such an one she was limmed as *Apelles* would have made choice of for the beauty of *Greece*. She was said to be the *Astrea* of the Marquesse *D' Urfee*.

Many famous battels of the ancients were represented, some of the later times, above all others the Crafts-men had striven to shew to the life the Battel of *Le Panto*, the flying *Turks* and following *Christians*. Some Galliasses made a sport to the winds, others all in flames in the midst of the Seas; the divers postures

postures of fighting and perishing Souldiers with the scattered Oars, Planks and Ensigns, might have made some dream they were amidst these though in quietness, and on the Seas whilst they were safe on ground. Many Towns were here to be travelled thorough at an easie rate, *Rome*, *Naples*, *Florence*, *Constantinople*, *Vienne*, and without passing the Seas, *London* and *Venice*.

Here were many double Pictures, the first view shew old men and young Misers gathering carefully, the second view shew young men and prodigals spending riotously, with *stultitiam patiuntur opes*. Church-men and grave Senators consulting and seriously deliberating the one face of the Picture represented, the other Fools dancing, Soldiers dicing and fighting. A Lady weeping over her dead Husband, accompanied with many Mourners, the first view; the second represented her second Nuptials, Nymphs and Gallants revelling naked, and going to Bed.

Now when I had considered all (for these Galleries were a little All, if ye please) casting mine eyes aside I beheld on a fair Table the Pourtraicts of two which drew my thoughts to more seriousness than all the other. The first clad in a Sky-coloured Mantle bordered with some red, was laughing, and held out his Finger by way of demonstration in scorn to another in a sable Mantle, who held his arms a cross, declined his head pittifully and seemed to shed tears. The one shewed that he was *Democritus*, the other that he was *Heraclitus*. And truely considering all our actions except those which the Service and Adoration of God Almighty, they are either to be lamented or laughed at, and man is always

always a Fool, except in Miſery, which is a Whit-Stone of Judgment.

PARIS,
Febr. 12.

To S. W. A.

SIR,

THe promiſe given by me to a dying friend ſhall at this time I hope excuſe mine importunity. He requeſted me to remember his love to you, and that deſire he ever had to do you ſervice. And though dying, ſo lively expreſſed this affection that who would ſet in Paper had need of his own Eloquence. This remembrance he left, made me to be in this, his Executor in delivering this Legacy. Some Papers he left alſo concerning ſome of your affairs, which becauſe death prevented his delivering of them to me, I think are loſed in the Stuff of his Cabinet. Your abſence increaſed greatly that Melancholy which bereft us of him. If any thing more precious had been left to my Truſt, ye might have been aſſured it had been delivered to you by your,

W. DRUMMOND.

To the truely Noble S. R. K. *Gentleman of the Kings Bed-Chamber.*

SIR,

HOw ever fortune turn her Wheel I find you ſtill your ſelf, and ſo ballaſted with your own worth, that ye may out-dare any Storm. This is that Jewel which neither change of Court, nor Climates, can rob you of; of what is yours, ye have loſt nothing. By this Quadran I have ever meaſured your height; neither here could the vapours of Court make me erre.

Long ſince I learned not to eſteem of any golden Butter-flies there, but as of Counters, whoſe Places give them only worth. Ye are born to act brave parts on this Theatre of the World, as your Prince is wiſe, ſo I am aſſured he is well read in Man, and knows ye are not one to be loſt. What know ye to what end that Soveraign Wiſdom, who hath hitherto been ſo ſtrong a Defence unto you, hath removed you from your Countrey? By this means ye may return more welcom, more beloved, and with greater honour than when you left her. How oft hath plaintful means brought men to that happineſs, which in their proſperity they never could reach in their thoughts nor expect? Now ſince your departure I verily think all our life to be but a Dream, and that God hath placed our happineſs elſewhere. He is only miſerable and wretched who holdeth himſelf ſuch: as that man only bleſſed who is content with a little. Happineſs conſiſting neither in honour nor riches, but in an equality and moderation of Deſires. Forgive my free writing, I have

not

not had leisure to vail my thoughts, your Brother's departing being so unexpected.

W. DRUMMOND.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Perth.

My Noble Lord,

AFter a long inquiry about the Arms of your Lordships ancient House, and the turning of sundry Books of *Impresaes* and *Heraudry*, I found your *UNDES* famous and very honourable.

In our neighbour Countrey of *England* they are born, but inverted upside down, and diversified. *Torquato Tasso* in his *Rinaldo* maketh mention of a Knight who had a Rock placed in the Waves with the Word *Rompe ch' il percote.* And other hath the Seas waves with a *Syren* rising out of them, the word *Bella Maria*, which is the name of some Courtezan. *Antonio Perenotto, Cardinal Gravella* had for an *Impresa* the Sea, a Ship in it, the word *Durate* out of the first of the *Æneades, Durate & vosmet rebus servate secundis. Tomaso de Marini Duca di terra nova* had for his *Impresa* the Waves with a Sun over them, the Word *Nunquam siccabitur æstu.* The Prince of *Orange* used for his *Impresa* the *Waves* with an *Halcyon* in the midst of them, the word, *Mediis tranquillus in undis*, which is rather an Emblem than *Impresa* because the figure is in the word. By reason of your *Lordships* name and the long continuance in your House to none they appertain more rightly than to your Lordship. *Drum* is in the old *Celtique* and *Brittish* Language an *Height*,

Height, and *Onde* in all the Countreys almost of *Europe* a Wave; which word is said to have been given in a Storm by *Margaret* Queen of *Scotland* to a Gentleman who accompanied her, the first of your Lordships House. But to make an Inquiry in Sirnames were now too long.

W. DRUMMOND.

To the truly Noble S. R. K.

COntentments are never so really Contentments, as when they come after some calamity.

——*Afflictions meet*
And mingling with our Joys make them more sweet.

After your late danger and long absence by your kindly returning to your Countrey and Recovery of lossed favours, this hath doubled it self: We are often by deeming those things hurtful, which are but changes for our greater Good; Crosses serve for many uses, and more than Magistracies decipher the Man. Brave minds like lamps are discerned when they are canopied with the night of affliction: and like Rubies give the faireſt lustre when they are rubbed. The sight of so many stately Towns and differing manners of Men, the conquest of such friends abroad, and trial of these at home, the leaving of your Remembrance so honourable to after times, have made you more happy in your distress, than if, like another *Endymion*, ye had sleeped away that swift course of days in the embracements of your Mistress the Court. Forgive my Comparison, for if Courts be changing Moons, why should not favourites be *Endymions*? I write often

often unto you, for that in way of friendſhip I had rather be charged for ſuper-abundancy than defect: from him who is no more his own than by reſpect and affection yours.

W. DRUMMOND.

To his much honoured Friend M. A. J. *Phyſician to the KING.*

IT is more praiſe-worthy in Noble and excellent things to know ſomething, though little, than in mean and ignoble matters to have a perfect knowledge. Amongſt all thoſe rare Ornaments of the mind of Man, *Poeſie* hath had a moſt eminent place, and been in high eſteem, not only at one time, and in one Climate, but during all times and through thoſe parts of the World where any ray of humanity and civility hath ſhined. So that ſhe hath not unworthily deſerved the name of the Miſtreſs of human life, the height of Eloquence, the quinteſſence of knowledge, the loud Trumpet of Fame, the Language of the Gods. There is not any thing endureth longer: *Homers Troy* hath outlived many Republicks, and both the *Roman* and *Grecian* Monarchies; ſhe ſubſiſteth by her ſelf; and after one demeanour and continuance her beauty appeareth to all ages. In vain have ſome men of late (Tranſformers of every thing) conſulted upon her Reformation, and endeavoured to abſtract her to *Metaphyſical Ideas*, and *Scholaſtical Quiddities*, denuding her of her own habits, and thoſe Ornaments with which ſhe hath amuſed the World ſome thouſand years. *Poeſie* is not a thing that is yet in the finding and ſearch, or which may be otherwiſe found

out,

out, being already condeſcended upon by all Nations, and as it were eſtabliſhed *jure Gentium*, amongſt *Greeks*, *Romans*, *Italians*, *French*, *Spaniards*. Neither do I think that a good Piece of *Poeſie*, which *Homer*, *Virgil*, *Ovid*, *Petrarch*, *Bartas*, *Ronſard*, *Boſcan*, *Garcilaſſo* (if they were alive) and had that Language, could not underſtand, and reach the ſence of the Writer. Suppoſe theſe men could find out ſome other new *Idea* like *Poeſie*, it ſhould be held as if Nature ſhould bring forth ſome new *Animal*, neither Man, Horſe, Lyon, Dog, but which had ſome Members of all, if they had been proportionably and by right Symmetry ſet together. What is not like the Ancients and conform to thoſe Rules which hath been agreed unto by all times, may (indeed) be ſomething like unto *Poeſie*, but it is no more *Poeſie* than a Monſter is a man. Monſters breed admiration at the firſt, but have ever ſome ſtrange loathſomneſs in them at laſt. I deny not but a *Mulet* is more profitable than ſome Horſes, yet is it neither Horſe nor Aſs, and yet it is but a Mulet. There is a Tale told of a poor miſerable Fellow accuſed of Beſtiality; and he at his *Arraignment* confeſſed, That it was not out of any evil intention he had done it, but only to procreat a Monſter, with which (having nothing to ſuſtain his life) he might win his bread going about the Countrey. For the like cauſe it may be thought theſe men found out their new *Poeſie* differing from the Matters, Manners, Rules of former ages; either they did not ſee the way of *Poeſie* or were afraid to enter it. The Verſes of *Camillus Quernus* as they are imitated by *Strada* ſeem very plauſible and to admiration to ſome, but how far they are off right *Poeſie* Children may gueſs. Theſe mens new conceptions approach nearer his, than to the Majeſty and Statelineſs of the

great Poets. The contempt and undervaluing of Verſes hath made men ſpare their travel in adorning them; but *Poeſie*, as it hath overcome ignorance, at laſt will overcome envy and contempt. This I have been bold to write unto you, not to give you any inſtruction, but to manifeſt mine obedience to your requeſt.

W. DRUMMOND.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Sterlin.

WHen the pittiful news came of ſo dear Funerals, though I had an intention to have written to your Lordſhip, I reſtrained my ſelf, both becauſe your wound was flagrant, and that I had not an argument of comfort, which was not your own. Nothing is now left me but to manifeſt, that the ſence of this loſs could not but perplex him grievouſly who never made any difference between your fortunes and his own. I hold my ſelf Copartner of all your Griefs as I have been of your proſperities. I know your Fatherly affection, I know too your conſtancy, which being ſeaſoned with piety, will not ſuffer you to repine at that which is the determinate will of God. Your erudition and experience inſtruct you, that ſuch accidents ſhould be taken in a good part, and chearfully, which are not incident to us alone, and which by our ſighs, tears, plaints, we may not evite and put far from us; ye muſt not attend till time mitigate your languor, for this do the vulgar ſort of men, with *ſola dies poterit tantum lenire dolorem.* A wiſe man ſhould prevent and anticipate time, over-run new-

born

born Grief, which is an ungrateful Gueſt, thruſting out and ranſacking the Maſters of their Inn. I who am conſcious to your patience and wiſdom, am aſſured ye have performed all this already, upon which confidence I will leave off to trouble you farther, or lay a heavier burthen and needleſs task upon my ſelf.

W. DRUMMOND.

To———

SHould ye think to eſcape this Enemy of Virtue, *Fortune*, when ſhe never ſpareth the moſt Worthy? Who hath ever yet in many excellencies been eminent, whom ſhe hath not either after one faſhion or other, if not trampled, yet toſſed? And make not a long ſearch in the old ages of the World, and through the Miſts of *Antiquity*, but look upon our own Times, and our Fathers. Ye have *Sidney* cropped in the vigour of his Youth by a muthering Bullet; *Rawleigh* brought to a fatal Scaffold; *la Nove*, with the Marqueſs *D'Urfee* complaining in miſerable Priſons; *Taſſo* famiſhing in the like Thraldom; the two Counts of *Mirandula* Spectacles of Pitty and Cruelty, the one by too ſoon a Death (if death can be too ſoon) the other by being aſſaſſinated by his neareſt Kinſmen. As if Excellencies were the only Object of Diſaſters, and ſome ſecret influence laboured to make the braveſt of men and the baſeſt equal. Or that the ſuperior powers thought Glory to belong only to them, and no praiſe-worthy Actions ſhould befall poor Mortals. Yet ſhould they not envy ſilly men a duſty honour, which in ſome ſmall moments of time vaniſheth, and reacheth no far-

ther than the narrow bounds of ſome few Climates of this ſmall Globe of the Earth. We may doubt whether Excellencies and Heroical Virtues were to be deſired with ſo many dangers and miſeries lacky-ing them, or a homebred, untaught, rude *Plebeian* life.

W. DRUMMOND.

To S. W. A.

SIR,

MY ſilence this time paſt proceeded no wayes of any forgetfulneſs of you, but from my many new cares, and ſorrows. The loſs of ſo many friends this ſeaſon, hath eſtranged me from my ſelf, and turn-ed my mirth into mourning; what civil arms and diſcord have performed in other kingdoms of *Europe*, a ſtill mortality hath done in this. So ma-ny Funerals theſe many years have not been ſeen as in this one. There are few bands of kindred, ſocieties, acquaintances, friendſhip, which by death are not broken here, without reſpect of Age, vigour, rank, quality; and juſtly this mortality might claim the name of Peſtilence, if the Dead were deprived of cuſtomary burial. Well have ſome Aſtrological Divines gueſſed that this year ſhould be the great Judgment. What is recorded of the years 100. and 120. that Church-yards were not ample enough to contain the dead bodies, but that new ground was digged up, is true in this; and what of the year 1348. that the third of mankind was ſweeped from the Earth: we may ſay that though this Country hath not loſt the third, yet that the Almighty pro-

vidence

vidence hath taken away the tenth part of the people. This is (perhaps) a part of that Judgement which the late blazing lights of Heaven did signifie unto us, the defects of the Sun, besides the malignant influences of other *Celestial* Bodies. This one year is enough to make men hereafter, if not altogether believe, yet fear *Astrological* Predictions which though they fail in particulars, yet strangely hold true in some generals. Heavens I hope shall preserve you *ad meliora et meliora tempora*; to be a witness and Recorder of their Just Proceedings on this Globe of the Earth, for the Good of your self, your Friends, and all that love you.

1623.

W. DRUMMOND.

The Oath of a KNIGHT.

I Shall fortifie and defend the true holy Catholique and Christian Religion presently professed at all my Power

I shall be loyal and true to my Soveraign Lord the King his Majesty, and do honour and reverence to all Orders of Chevalrie and to the noble office of Arms.

I shall fortifie and defend Justice to the uttermost of my power, but feed or favour.

I shall never flie from the Kings Majesty my Lord and Master, or his Lieutenant in time of battel or medly with dishonour.

I shall defend my native Country from all aliens and strangers at all my power.

I shall maintain and defend the honest Adoes and Quarrels of all Ladies of Honour, Widows, Orphans, and Maids of good Fame.

I ſhall do diligence, wherever I hear tell there is any Traytours, Murtherers, Rovers, and Maſterfull Theeves and Outlaws, that ſuppreſs the Poor, to bring them to the Law at all my Power.

I ſhall maintain and defend the Noble and gallant State of Chevalrie with Horſes, Harneſſes, and other Knightly Apparel to my Power.

I ſhall be diligent to enquire and ſeek to have the knowledge of all Articles and points touching or concerning my duty contained in the Book of Chevalrie.

All and ſundry the Premiſſes I oblige me to keep and fulfil, ſo help me God by my own hand, and by God himſelf.

To his loving Couſin———

IF wiſhes could have place or prevail, I wiſh ye could be moved to ſeparate your ſelf from the frequent converſation and company of that envious Gentleman, otherwiſe keep your ſelf ſo cloſe and ſecret in your demeanour, that of your chief and moſt Soveraign actions he be altogether ignorant. All other evils may be remedied, envy excepted; which, though they have the worſt that are affected with it, yet as a plague it doth hurt to all who approach it. Give me an ambitious man, though he were of a more tranſcendent conceit than Pride her ſelf, If I render him imagined honour, praiſe him, uſe him with all due reſpects, I ſhall in a little time turn him my friend. Place me with a *Damouret*, if I cope not with him, if I praiſe him in the preſence of his Miſtreſs, he will be ready to perform like duties to me. If I ſhould converſe with an avaritious, a little gain will win him to me: only the envious with nothing

thing is ſatisfied nor appeaſed, no drug can cure that plague, if thou wouldeſt amend it, it muſt be with thine own life. There remaineth one way to make him thine, ſave by turning miſerable, that thus he may pitty thee. The envious doth not mark and obſerve any good in another, but ſifteth only imperfections, and ſetteth apart conditions and qualities, which are praiſe-worthy in perſon, turneth his eyes to thoſe few blemiſhes which may be reprehended and amended. Each other Vice ſeemeth humane: Envy the Vice and Sin of Devils. A ſtrange gangren of a perverſe mind, that others happineſs ſhould turn it miſerable.

What I have elſe to advertiſe you of, expect in my next.

W. DRUMMOND.

December 6.
1623.

To *S. M. D.*

IT is much argued amongſt thoſe men, who will have a reaſon of every thing, why good men ordinarily are deſerted of Fortune, and many evils ariſe to preferments. The firſt anſwer is, that lewd, bold men have ſtrong fantaſies, and attempt upon many divers matters, which good men by their baſhfulneſs and towardneſſe never eſſay to reach. The next anſwer is, That lewd men ſuffer themſelves to be guided by nature, or the ſtarry influences, or rather (being Fools) give themſelves over (like Beaſts) to be carried by their appetites, and the virtuous are led by reaſon which often contrachecketh it ſelf, and by long meditation and advice what

to do, leaveth of all doing: and ſuffereth others in the interim to carry the Garland; ye have ſpent now many years at Court, and yet that Clock which hath ſtrock ten to others, is ſtill pointing at one or two to you. Have you not yet taken a diſtaſting and Satiety of that old Miſtreſs of yours the Court? her long delay in preferring you tells you are too honeſt. Me thinks ye ſhould have a deſire to recreate your ſelf at laſt in your native Country with the remembrances of paſſed Contentments at Court, as your Kinſmen here have a longing after ſo long a time to ſee you, and unanimouſly now ſalute you.

May 12.
1630.

W. DRUMMOND.

To his loving Friend A, Cunningham *L. of* Barnes.

THis is no ſmall Miſery of us Iſlanders that, as exiled, we cannot take a view of Gods fair and ſpacious Earth without croſſing the ſtormy, braking and deceitful Seas; And it is no leſs a miſery here in this part of our Iſland, that can hardly repair unto you *demi-Islanders* without dancing and toſſing on your arm of Sea; of all paſtimes and exerciſes I like ſailing worſt, and had rather attend the Hunters and Faulkoners many daies, ere I ſailed one half day. It is a part of *Noahs* Judgment: If it ſhall be my good fortune to arrive in your Iſland, prepare no games of ſtrength for our recreation, and after a ſatiety of diſcourſe and reading, let us not trouble our ſelves with any ſedentary paſtimes; the Dies are for the end of a Drum amongſt Souldiers, the Tables for Goutiſh and apoplectick perſons to make

make them move their joints; the Cards for women to obſerve their diſcretion. But if we ſhall have a deſire of change of thoughts, let us not refuſe the Cheſſe, the only Princely Game (next Government) in the World, yea the true Image and Pourtraict of it, and training of Kings. Here is a King defended, by a Lady, two Biſhops, two Knights, at the end of the Liſts, with two Rocks, Fortreſſes, or Caſtles. Before thoſe to prepare and make plain the paſſages, march eight Pawns, *Enfantes perdues* expoſed to all deſperate Services, every one ſtanding for their *Monarch*. The Deviſer of this would repreſent unto us a game of State. Firſt for the Biſhops; that neareſt to Kings ſhould be Eccleſiaſtical grave Men, who by oblique, traverſe and myſtical ways (ſuch is their paſſage) ſhould effectuate their Maſters deſigns and ſafety. Though the Knights be not alwaies neareſt to the Kings, it falleth forth that even as the Knights at Game of Cheſſe by their leap, giving an Eſcheke to their Kings, the Kings are conſtrained to change places, from which by covering and overſhadowing themſelves with ſome other piece, in any other eſchekes they may eſcape free and exempted. So there is no danger in the State a King ſhould ſo much fear as the revolt of his Nobles. For the Towers or Caſtles named Rooks, theſe are the walled Towns, which ſerve for a Refuge for the conſervation of the Kingdom. Here is a King reſembled who marcheth but one pace, whilſt all the other Pieces of the Cheſſe boord put themſelves now on the offenſive, then on the defenſive, for his ſafety. To teach Kings that it is not for them upon whoſe life the peace and happineſs of the whole ſubjects rely, to expoſe themſelves every ſhock and hazard of battel, as a Captain. Sith for the ſafety of the King, he may make an extraordinary leap from his

own

own ſtation to the ſtation of the Rock or Tower, as to a Fortreſs holdable and impregnable againſt the greateſt aſſaults of his Enemies. The priviledge of the Lady is conſiderable, ſhe may ſometimes progreſs on the ways of the Biſhops, then on thoſe of the Rooks and Towers, only ſhe is hindred, and inhibited from the leap skip bound of the Knights, as a thing undecent: Though *Plato* in his Republick permitteth Women to fight. The Game is concluded with the Mate of the King, that is a Fool or Madman in the *Italian.* If the other pieces keep not themſelves, they may, as dead, be taken and removed off the Cheſs-boord, but the King by loſs of men loſeth not the victory, he may by a hazard carry it with the meaneſt of his pieces, as his Army is wiſely and warily conducted. The King receiveth not that diſgrace in imagination as that they dream of his taking, but is enough that they bring upon him ſuch confuſion and diſarray, that blocked up and denuded of all ſupport he cannot march to any Hold or Station. Which brought to paſs, we tell he is mated, that is, either madman or fool. To ſignifie what diſaſter ſo ever befall a King we ſhould not attempt on his perſon. Moreover, even in the midſt and throng of all his beſt pieces the mating of the King is the concluſion of the Game; which ſhews us that on the preſervation or overthrow of our King the overthrow or preſervation of our State dependeth. The recompence of the Pawns is not to be forgotten. When they can win and aſcend the furtheſt part of the Cheſs-bord on the Sunny ſide, as the firſt which mount a breach, in this caſe they are ſurrogated in thoſe void Rooms of the pieces of honour, which becauſe they ſuffered themſelves to be taken, were removed off the Boord, which in effect is to repreſent the puniſhment and

guerdon

guerdon due in a Commonwealth to good or evil actions. The Game ended, Kings, Queens, Biſhops, Knights, Pawns, peſlemelled are confuſedly thrown in the box, the concluſion of all earthly actions and greatneſs: If *Hieronymus Vida* can be found with *Baptiſta Marini* his *Adone*, we ſhall not ſpare ſome hours of the night and day at their Cheſs, for I affect that above the other; and here have we plaied without a Cheſs-boord on paper for a preamble to our meeting.

VV. DRUMMOND.

To his worthy Friend Maſter Benjamin Johnſon.

SIR,

THe uncertainty of your abode was a cauſe of my ſilence this time paſt, I have adventured this packet upon hopes that a man ſo famous cannot be in any place either of the City or Court where he ſhall not be found out. In my laſt I ſent you a deſcription of *Lough-Lomond* with a Map of *Inchmerinoch*, which may by your Book be made moſt famous with the form of the Government of *Edenburgh*, and the Method of the Colleges of *Scotland*; for all inſcriptions I have been curious to find out for you, the *Impreſſaes* and Emblems on a Bed of State wrought and embroidered all with Gold and Silk by the late Queen *Mary* Mother to our ſacred Soveraign, which will embelliſh greatly ſome pages of your Book, and is worthy your remembrance; the firſt is the Loadſtone turning towards the pole, the word her Majeſties name turned in an Anagram,

Maria

Maria Stuart, ſa vertum' attire, which is not much inferior to *Veritas armate.* This hath reference to a Crucifix, before which with all her Royal Ornaments ſhe is humbled on her knees moſt lively, with the word *undique*; an *Impreſſa* of *Mary* of *Lorrain* her Mother, a *Phœnix* in flames, the word *en ma fin git mon commencement.* The *Impreſſa* of an Apple-Tree growing in a Thorn, the word *Per vincula creſcit.* The *Impreſſa* of *Henry* the ſecond the *French King*, a *Creſſant*, the word, *Donec totum impleat orbem.* The *Impreſſa* of King *Francis* the firſt, a *Salamander* crowned in the midſt of Flames, the word, *Nutriſco & extinguo.* The *Impreſſa* of *Godfrey* of *Bullogne*, an row paſſing through three Birds, the word, *Dederit ne viam Caſuſve Deuſve.* That of *Mercurius* charming *Argos* with his hundred eyes, expreſſed by his *Caduceus*, two *Flutes*, and a *Peacock*, the word, *Eloquium tot luminaclauſit.* Two Women upon the Wheels of Fortune, the one holding a Launce, the other a *Cornucopia*; which *Impreſſa* ſeemeth to glaunce at Queen *Elizabeth* and her ſelf, the word *Fortunæ Comites.* The *Impreſſa* of the Cardinal of *Lorrain* her Uncle, a *Pyramide* overgrown with *Ivy*, the vulgar word, *Te ſtante virebo*; a Ship with her Maſt broken and fallen in the Sea, the word, *Nunquam niſi rectum.* This is for her ſelf and her Son, a big *Lyon* and a young Whelp beſide her, the word, *unum quidem, ſed Leonem.* An Emblem of a *Lyon* taken in a Net, and Hares wantonly paſſing over him, the word, *Et lepores devicto inſultant Leone. Cammomel* in a garden, the word, *Fructus calcata dat ampliſs.* A Palm-Tree, the word, *Ponderibus virtus innata reſiſtit.* A Bird in a *Cage*, and a *Hawk* flying above, with the word, *il mal me preme & me ſpaventa Peggio.* A Triangle with a Sun in the middle

middle of a Circle, the word, *Trino non convenit orbis.* A Porcupine amongſt Sea Rocks, the word, *ne volutetur.* The *Impreſſa* of King *Henry* the Eight a *Porteulles*, the word, *altera ſecuritas.* The *Impreſſa* of the Duke of *Savoy*, the annunciation of the Virgin *Mary*, the word, *Fortitudo ejus* Rhodum *tenuit.* He had kept the Iſle of *Rhodes*, Flouriſhes of Arms, as Helms, Launces, Corſlets, Pikes, Muskets, Cannons and the word, *Dabit Deus his quoque finem.* A Tree planted in a Church-yard environed with dead mens bones, the word, *Pietas revocabit ab orco.* Eccliplſes of the Sun and the Moon, the word, *Ipſa ſibi lumen quod invidet aufert*; glauncing, as may appear at Queen *Elizabeth.* *Brennos* Ballances a Sword caſt in to weigh Gold, the word, *Quid miſi Victis dolor?* A Vine Tree watred with Wine, which inſtead to make it ſpring and grow, maketh it fade, the word, *Mea ſic mihi proſunt.* A wheel rolled from a Mountain in the Sea, *Piena di dolor voda de Sperenza.* Which appeareth to be her own, and it ſhould be *Precipitio ſenza ſperanza.* A heap of Wings and Feathers diſperſed, the word, *Magnatum Vicinitas.* A Trophie upon a Tree, with Mytres, Crowns, Hats, Masks, Swords, Books, and a Woman with a Vail about her Eyes or muffled, pointing to ſome about her, with this word, *Ut caſus dederit.* Three Crowns, two oppoſite, and another above in the Sea, the word, *Aliamque moratur.* The Sun in an Ecclipſe, the word, *Medio occidet Die.*

I omit the Arms of *Scotland*, *England* and *France* ſeverally by themſelves, and all quartered in many places of this Bed. The workmanſhip is curiouſly done, and above all value, and truely it may be of this Piece ſaid *Materiam ſuperabat opus.*

I have

I have sent you (as you desired) the Oath which the old valiant Knights of *Scotland* gave, when they received the Order of Knighthood, which was done with greater solemnity and magnificence.

W. DRUMMOND.

July 1. 1619.

To his Worthy Friend M. A. G.

I Never found any greater folly in the actions of Men than to see some busie themselves to understand the accidents to come of their lives; this knowledge of things to come not revealed to us, is no ways needful for us. Whereseever this superstition is once received, Men are driven, and, as it were haunted with Furies, and are deprived of all calmness, quietness and rest. I never knew any who had recourse to those unlawful curiosities who liv'd the ordinary age of man. God omnipotent removing his Grace from them giveth them over to fall under the Fate of their own fears. By the credulity and violent desire of him who inquireth to know these things, *Astrological* Predictions come to pass, not by the nature of the things themselves, which are fortuital events, and have no natural causes, being voluntary. The mistakings and uncertainties of these Predictions, should make us contemn them, *Astrologi fingunt non docent.* The truth of *Astrological Predictions* is not to be refer'd to the constellations of Heaven, the *Genethliaticks* have other observations than the Stars; they conjecture by the disposition, temper, complexion of the person, by the physiognomy, age, parents, education, acquaintance, familiarity, conversation, out of all which they collect many apparences, possibilities, likelihoods: and their prophecies are refer'd *ad Sortem,*

tem, ad Pacta, ad Prudentiam conſultorum, & ſtultitiam Conſulentium; the ſagacity of the *Aſtrologer*, the blockiſhneſs of the Conſulter. Of Contingencies, no certain knowledge can be obtained by Art.

But all thoſe events which *Aſtrologers* aver to come are fortuital and caſual contingents, then they cannot be learned or known by any precepts of Art. How can a *Caldean* by that ſhort minute, inſtant, moment of time in which a man is born, ſet down the diverſe changes, mutations, accidents of his life? If we were to conſider of thoſe things, it would appear we ſhould not be ſolicitous ſo much, and take notice how the air is affected at the infants coming in this World, as we ſhould obſerve and reſpect the matter and diſpoſition of the whole body, in which a greater virtue is infuſed, or of the time of the conception. Then how unlikely is it, and without any ſemblance of truth, that the many almoſt numberleſs conjunction of Stars, which occur and preſent themſelves in the progreſs of a mans life, ſhould match and countervail that one *Horoſcope* or *Conjunction* which is found at his birth? Moreover to find out and know the actions of the free will of a man, of what importance ſhould we hold nouriſhment, education, age, the place, his converſation, every one of which after their own manner contributing to the conſtitution and complexion of the perſon, how great effects muſt all theſe together produce? If that moment of the time of birth be of ſuch moment, whence proceedeth the great differences of the conſtitutions of Twins, which though together born, have ſtrange, divers and contrary Fortunes in the progreſs of their lives? all that knowledge (if there be any ſuch?) of things contingent to which we attain by the aſpects of Stars, is uncertain, frivolous and changable. This the Devils

vils themſelves confeſſed, when upon conſultations of things to come for the moſt part they gave doubtful and ambiguous anſwers. The Stars are not malignant, miſchievous, ſpiteful, nor by their Aſpects malicious, if they were ſuch, that ſhould be either by election or nature. They are not by Election, for then they ſhould have ſenſes and ſouls, and as Animals be troubled with perturbations, and toſſed like unto us, which followeth election. They are not malicious by nature, ſith God created them, and God is not a Creator of what is evil: nor is the framer of what's not good; the Heavens are all good, and in every degree and figure the Divine bounty ſhineth. Why do not *Aſtrologers* at their pleaſure procreate Kings, for they have no great labour but to chooſe out *opportunam horam*, and ask counſel of the fatal Stars? Had *Giges*, who of a Servant became a King, a kingly Aſpect, or *Servius Tullus* or that *Tartar Tamerlane* Royal Images and Figures? Vain ſhould all Laws be, all ſentences and doom of Judges, vain the Rewards of virtue and good men; vain the puniſhments of vices and evils, if the great beginnings and Originals of them were compelled, driven and forced, and if what is juſt or wrong were not in a man himſelf. The Thief ſhould not be a Thief, the Murtherer a Murtherer, wicked and unjuſt they ſhould not be, the one being neceſſitated to ſteal, the other to ſhed blood by the Stars. Truſt in the firſt cauſe God Almighty, and ſcorn vain Predictions. That infinit eternal eſſence, though the Stars ſhould incline, yea neceſſitate, and be averſe, can countermand and turn them propitious: All things turn unto the beſt unto ſuch as rely on his Eternal goodneſs:

W. DRUMMOND.

A

CYPRESSE GROVE.

THough it hath been doubted if there be in the ſoul ſuch imperious and ſuper-excellent power, as that it can by the vehement and earneſt working of it, deliver knowledge to another without bodily Organs and by the only conceptions and Ideas of it produce real Effects; yet it hath been ever, and of all held as infallible and moſt certain, that it often (either by outward inſpiration, or ſome ſecret motion in it ſelf) is augur of its own misfortunes, and hath ſhadows of approaching dangers preſented unto it before they fall forth. Hence ſo many ſtrange apparitions and ſigns, true viſions, uncouth heavineſs, and cauſeleſs uncomfortable languiſhings, of which to ſeek a reaſon, unleſs from the ſparkling of God in the Soul, or from the Godlike ſparkles of the Soul, were to make unreaſonable by reaſoning of things tranſcending her reach.

Having often and diverſe times, when I had given my ſelf to reſt in the quiet ſolitarineſs of the Night, found my imagination troubled with a con-

fuſed fear, no, ſorrow or horrour, which interrupting ſleep, did aſtoniſh my ſenſes, and rowſe me all appalled, and tranſported in a ſudden agony and amazedneſs; of ſuch an unaccuſtomed perturbation, not knowing, nor being able to dive into any apparent cauſe, carried away with the ſtream of my then doubting thoughts, I began to aſcribe it to that ſecret fore-knowledge and preſaging power of the prophetick mind, and to interpret ſuch an Agony to be to the Spirit as a faintneſs and univerſal wearineſs uſeth to be to the body, a ſign of following ſickneſs, or as winter Lightnings or Earth-quakes are to Commonwealths and great Cities, Harbingers of more wretched events.

Hereupon not thinking it ſtrange if whatſoever is human ſhould befall me, knowing how providence overcomes grief, and diſcountenances Croſſes; and that as we ſhould not deſpair of evils which may happen us, we ſhould not be too confident, nor lean much to thoſe Goods we enjoy; I began to turn over in my remembrance all that could afflict miſerable Mortality, and to fore-caſt every thing that with a Mask of horror ſhould ſhew it ſelf to human eyes: till in the end, as by unities and points, Mathematicians are brought to great numbers, and huge greatneſs; after many fantaſtical glaunces of the woes of mankind, and thoſe incumbrances which follow upon life, I was brought to think, and with amazement, on the laſt of human terrours, or (as one termed it) the laſt of all dreadful and terrible Evils, Death.

For to eaſie cenſure it would appear, that the Soul, if it fore-ſee that divorcement which it is to have from the body, ſhould not without great reaſon be thus over-grieved, and plunged in inconſolable and unaccuſtom'd ſorrow: conſidering their near

near union, long familiarity and love, with the great change, pain, uglineſs, which are apprehended to be the inſeparable attendants of Death.

They had their being together, parts they are of one reaſonable Creature, the harming of the one, is the weakning of the working of the other; what ſweet contentments doth the ſoul enjoy by the ſenſes? They are the Gates and Windows of its knowledge, the Organs of its delight. If it be tedious to an excellent player on the Lute, to abide but a few months the want of one, how much more the being without ſuch noble Tools and Engines be plaintful to the Soul? And if two Pilgrims which have wandred ſome few miles together, have a hearts-grief when they are near to part, what muſt the ſorrow be at the parting of two ſo loving Friends and never-loathing Lovers, as are the Body and Soul?

Death is the violent eſtranger of acquaintance, the eternal Divorcer of Marriage, the Raviſher of the Children from the Parents, the Stealer of Parents from their Children, the interrer of Fame, the ſole cauſe of forgetfulneſs, by which the living talk of thoſe gone away as of ſo many Shadows or age-worn Stories: all ſtrength by it is enfeebled, Beauty turned into deformity and rottenneſs, honour in contempt, Glory into baſeneſs. It is the reaſonleſs breaker off of all Actions, by which we enjoy no more the ſweet pleaſures of Earth, nor gaze upon the ſtately revolutions of the Heavens, Sun perpetually ſetteth, Stars never riſe unto us, It in one moment robbeth us of what with ſo great toil and care in many years we have heaped together: By this are Succeſſions of Linages cut ſhort, Kingdoms left Heirleſs, and greateſt States orphaned: it is not overcome by Pride, ſmothered by Flattery, diverted by time, Wiſdom ſave this, can prevent and help every thing.

By death we are exiled from this fair City of the World, it is no more a World unto us, nor we no more a People unto it. The ruines of Phanes, Palaces, and other magnificent Frames, yield a ſad proſpect to the ſoul, and how ſhould it without horrour view the wrack of ſuch a wonderful Maſterpiece, as is the body?

That death naturally is terrible and to be abhorred, it can not well and altogether be denied, it being a privation of life, and a not-being, and every privation being abhorred of nature, and evil in it ſelf, the fear of it too being ingenerate univerſally in all Creatures; yet I have often thought that even naturally to a mind by only nature reſolved and prepared, it is more terrible in conceit than in verity, and at the firſt Glance, than when well pried into, and that rather by the weakneſs of our fantaſie, than by what is in it, and that the marble colours, of Obſequies, Weeping, and funeral pomp (which we our ſelves caſt over) did add much more ghaſtlineſs unto it than otherways it hath. To aver which concluſion, when I had gathered my wandring thoughts, I began thus with my ſelf.

If on the great Theatre of this Earth amongſt the numberleſs number of men, *To dye* were only proper to thee and thine, then undoubtedly thou hadſt reaſon to repine at ſo ſevere and partial a Law? But ſince it is neceſſity, from the which never an age bypaſt hath been exempted, and unto which they which be, and ſo many as are to come, are thralled (no conſequent of life being more common and familiar) why ſhouldſt thou with unprofitable and nought availing ſtubbornneſs, oppoſe to ſo unevitable and neceſſary a Condition? This is the highway of Mortality, our general home, behold what millions have trod it before thee, what multitudes

ſhall

ſhall after thee, with them which at that ſame inſtant run. In ſo univerſal a calamity (if death be one) private complaints cannot be heard, with ſo many Royal Palaces, it is no loſs to ſee thy poor Cabin burn. Shall the heavens ſtay their ever-rolling wheels (for what is the motion of them but the motion of a ſwift and ever whirling wheel, which twineth forth, and again uprolleth our life?) and hold ſtill time, to prolong thy miſerable days, as if the higheſt of their working were to do homage unto thee? Thy death is a piece of the Order of this *All*, a part of the Life of this World, for while the World is the World, ſome Creatures muſt dye, and others take life. Eternal things are raiſed far above this Sphere of a Generation and Corruption, where the firſt Matter, like an ever-flowing and ebbing Sea, with divers Waves, but the ſame Water, keepeth a reſtleſs and never tyring Current; what is below, in the univerſality of the kind, not in it ſelf doth abide, *Man* a long line of years hath continued, *This Man* every hundred is ſwept away. This Globe environed with air, is the ſole Region of death, the Grave where every thing that taketh life muſt rot, the Stage of Fortune and Change, only glorious in the unconſtancy and varying alterations of it, which though many, ſeem yet to abide one, and being a certain entire one, are ever many. The never agreeing bodies of the Elemental Brethren turn one in another, the Earth changeth her countenance with the ſeaſons, ſometimes looking cold, and naked, other times hot and flowry: Nay, I cannot tell how, but even the loweſt of thoſe Celeſtial bodies, that mother of months, and Empreſs of Seas and moiſture, as if ſhe were a Mirrour of of our conſtant mutability appeareth (by her too great nearneſs unto us) to participate of our changes,

never ſeeing us twice with that ſame face, now looking black, then pale and wan, ſometimes again in the perfection and fulneſs of her beauty ſhining over us. Death no leſs than life doth here act a part, the taking away of what is old, being the making a way for what is young. They which forewent us did leave a Room for us, and ſhould we grieve to do the ſame to thoſe which ſhould come after us? Who being ſuffered to ſee the exquiſite rarities of an Antiquaries Cabinet is grieved that the curtain be drawn, and to give place to new pilgrims? And when the Lord of this Univerſe hath ſhewed us the amazing wonders of his various frame, ſhould we take it to heart, when he thinketh time, to diſlodge? This is his unalterable and unevitable Decree, as we had no part of our will in our entrance into this life, we ſhould not preſume of any in our leaving it, but ſoberly learn to will that which he wills, whoſe very will giveth being to all that it wills, and reverencing the Orderer, not repine at the Order and Laws, which all-where and always are ſo perfectly eſtabliſhed, that who would eſſay to correct and amend any of them, ſhould either make them worſe, or deſire things beyond the level of poſſibility.

If thou doeſt complain that there ſhall be a time in the which thou ſhalt not be, why doeſt thou not too grieve that there was a time in the which thou waſt not? And ſo that thou art not as old as that enlifening Planet of time? For not to have been a thouſand years before this moment, is as much to be deplored as not to live a thouſand after it, the effect of them both being one: that will be after us which long, long before we were, was. Our Childrens Children have that ſame reaſon to murmur that they were not young men in our days, which we have to complain that we ſhall not be old in theirs.

The

The Violets have their time, though they impurple not the winter, and the Roſes keep their ſeaſon though they diſcloſe not their beauty in the Spring.

Empires, States, Kingdoms, have by the doom of the Supreme Providence, their fatal Periods, great Cities lye ſadly buried in their duſt, Arts and Sciences have not only their Eccliples, but their wainings and deaths, the ghaſtly wonders of the world, raiſed by the ambition of ages are overthrown and trampled, ſome Lights above, not idly intitled Stars, are looſed and never more ſeen of us: The excellent Fabrick of this Univerſe it ſelf ſhall one day ſuffer ruin, or a change like a ruin, and poor Earthlings thus to be handled complain.

But is this Life ſo great a good, that the loſs of it ſhould be ſo dear unto Man? If it be; the meaneſt Creatures of Nature thus be happy, for they live no leſſe than he. If it be ſo great a felicity, how is it eſteemed of Man himſelf at ſo ſmall a rate, that for ſo poor gains, nay, one diſgraceful word, he will not ſtand to loſe it? What excellency is there in it, for the which he ſhould deſire it perpetual, and repine to be at reſt, and return to his old Grand-mother Duſt? Of what moment are the labours and actions of it, that the interruption and leaving off of them ſhould be to him diſtaſtful, and with ſuch grudging lamentations received?

Is not the entering into Life weakneſſe? The continuing ſorrow? In the one here is expoſed to all the injuries of the Elements, and like a condemned treſpaſſer (as if it were a fault to come to the light) no ſooner born than mancled and bound; in the other he is reſtleſly like a Ball toſſed in the Tenis-Court of this World, when he is in the brighteſt Meridian of his glory, there miſtereth nothing to deſtroy him, but to let him fall his own height, a

reflex of the Sun, a blaſt of wind, nay, the glance of an eye, is ſufficient to undo him: How can that be any great matter, which ſo ſmall inſtruments and ſlender actions are Maſters of?

His body is but a maſs of diſcording humors boiled together by the conſpiring influences of Superior lights, which though agreeing for a trace of time, yet can never be made uniform, and kept in a juſt proportion. To what ſickneſs is it ſubject unto, beyond thoſe of the other creatures; no part of it being which is not particularly infected and afflicted by ſome one, nay, every part with many; ſo that the life of divers of the meaneſt creatures of nature hath with great reaſon, by the moſt wiſe, been preferred to the natural life of man: And we ſhall rather wonder how ſo fragil a matter ſhould ſo long endure, than how ſo ſoon decay.

Are the actions of the moſt part of men, much differing from the exerciſe of the Spider; that pitcheth toyls and is tapiſt, to prey on the ſmaller Creatures, and for the weaving of a ſcornful web eviſcerateth it ſelf many daies, which when with much induſtry finiſhed, a tempeſtuous puffe of wind carrieth away both the work and the worker? Or are they not like the plaies of Children? Or (to hold them at their higheſt rate) as is a May-Game, or what is more earneſt, ſome ſtudy at Cheſſe, every day we riſe and lie down, apparel and diſapparrel our ſelves, weary our bodies and refreſh them, which is a circle of idle Travels, and labours (like *Penelopes* task) unprofitably renewed. Some time we are in a chaſe after a fading Beauty, now we ſeek to enlarge our bounds, increaſe our treaſure, feeding poorly, to purchaſe what we muſt leave to thoſe we never ſaw, or (happily) to a Fool, or a Prodigal heir; raiſed with the wind of Ambition, we Court that idle

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name of Honour, not conſidering how they mounted aloft in the higheſt aſcendant of Earthly Glory, are but like tortured Ghoſts wandring with golden fetters in gliſtering Priſons having fear and danger their unſeparable executioners, in the midſt of multitudes rather garded than regarded; they whom opake imaginations and inward melancholy, have made weary of the world, though they have withdrawn themſelves from the courſe of vulgar affairs, by vain contemplations, curious ſearches, are more diſquieted, and live a life worſe than others their wit being too ſharp to give them a taſte of their preſent infelicity, and to increaſe their woes; while they of a more ſhallow and ſimple conceit, have want of knowledge and ignorance of themſelves, for a remedy and antidote againſt all the calamities of life.

What *Camelion*, what *Euripe*, what *Moon*, doth change ſo often as man? he ſeemeth not the ſame perſon, in one and the ſame day, what pleaſeth him in the morning is in the evening unto him diſtaſtful. Young he ſcorns his childiſh conceits, and wading deeper in years (for years are a Sea, into which he wadeth until he drown) he eſteemeth his Youth Unconſtancy, Raſhneſſe, Folly; Old he begins to pitty himſelf, plaining, becauſe he is changed that the world is changed, like thoſe in a Ship, which when they launch from the ſhore, are brought to think the ſhore doth flye from them. When he is freed of evil in his own eſtate, he grudges and vexes himſelf at the happineſs and fortunes of others, he is preſſed with care for what is preſent, with ſorrow for what is paſt, with fear for what is to come, nay, for what will never come, as in the eye one tear forceth out another, ſo makes he one ſorrow follow upon a former, and every day lay up ſtuff of grief for the next.

The Air, the Sea, the Fire, the Beaſts, be cruel executioners

executioners of man, yet Beaſts, Fire, Sea and Air, are pittyful to man in compariſon of man, for more men are deſtroyed by men, than by them all. What ſcorns, wrongs, contumelies, impriſonments, torments, poyſons, receiveth man of man? What engines and new works of death are found forth by man againſt man? What Laws to thrall his liberty? Fantaſies and ſcarbugs, to inveigle his reaſon? Amongſt the Beaſts is there any that hath ſo ſervile a lot in anothers behalf as Man? Yet neither is content, nor he who reigneth nor he who ſerveth.

The half of our life is ſpent in Sleep, which hath ſuch a reſemblance to death, and often it ſeparates as it were the Soul from the body, and teacheth it a ſort of being above it, making it ſoar beyond the Sphear of ſenſual delights, and attain Knowledge unto which while the body did awake it could ſcarce aſpire. And who would not, rather than abide chained in his loathſom galey of the world ſleep ever, (that is dye) having all things to one Stay be free from thoſe vexations, miſadventers, contempts, indignities, and many anguiſhes, unto which, this life is invaſſeled and ſubdued? and when looking unto our greateſt contentment and happineſs here, ſeemeth rather to conſiſt in the being releaſed from miſery, than in enjoying of any great good.

What have the moſt eminent of mortals to glory in? Is it Greatneſs? Who can be great on ſo ſmall a round as is this Earth, and bounded with ſo ſhort a courſe of time? How like is that to Caſtles or imaginary Cities raiſed in the Sky by Chance-meeting Clouds? Or to Gyants modelled (for a ſport) of Snow, which at the hoter looks of the Sun melt away, and ly drowned in their own moiſture? Such an impetuous viciſſitude towſeth the eſtates of this World.

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Is it knowledge? But we have not yet attained to a perfect underſtanding of the ſmalleſt Flower, and why the Graſs ſhould rather be green than red. The Element of Fire is quite put out, the Air is but water rarified, the Earth moveth, and is no more the Center of the Univerſe, is turned into a Magnes; Stars are not fixed, but ſwim in the Ethereal ſpaces, Comets are mounted above the Planets, ſome affirm there is another World of Men and Creatures, with Cities and Towers in the Moon, the Sun is loſt, for it is but a cleft in the lower Heavens, through which the light, of the higheſt ſhines. Thus Sciences by the diverſe motions of this Globe of the brain of man are become Opinions. What is all we know, compared with what we know not? We have not yet agreed about the chief good and felicity. It is (perhaps) Artificial Cunning, how many curioſities be framed by the leaſt Creatures of Nature, unto which the induſtry of the moſt curious Artizans doth not attain? Is it Riches? What are they but the caſting out of Friends, the Snares of Liberty, Bands to ſuch as have them, poſſeſſing rather, than poſſeſt, metals which nature hath hid (fore-ſeeing the great harm they ſhould occaſion) and the only opinion of man hath brought in eſtimation? Like Thorns which laid on an open hand, may be blown away, and on a cloſing and hard gripping, wound it, Prodigals miſpend them, wretches miskeep them: when we have gathered the greateſt abundance, we our ſelves can enjoy no more thereof, than ſo much as belongs to one man: what great and rich men do by others, the meaner ſort do themſelves. Will ſome talk of our pleaſures? It is not (though in the fables) told out of purpoſe, that pleaſure in haſt being called up to Heaven, did here forget her apparel, which Sor-

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row thereafter finding (to deceive the World) attired her ſelf with: And if we ſhould ſay the truth of moſt of our Joys, we muſt confeſs they are but diſguiſed ſorrows; the drams of their Honey are ſowred in pounds of Gall, remorſe ever enſueth them, nay in ſome they have no effect at all if ſome weakning grief hath not preceded and forewent them. Will ſome Ladies vaunt of their beauty? That is but skin-deep, of two ſenſes only known, ſhort even of Marble Statues and Pictures, not the ſame to all eyes, dangerous to the Beholder, and hurtful to the Poſſeſſor, an enemy to Chaſtity, a thing made to delight others, more than thoſe which have it, a ſuperficial luſtre hiding bones and the brains, things fearful to be looked upon, growth in years doth blaſt it, or ſickneſs, or ſorrow preventing them. Our ſtrength matched with that of the unreaſonable Creatures, is but weakneſs: all we can ſet our eyes on, in theſe intricate mazes of life, is but vain perſpective and deceiving ſhadows, appearing far otherwiſe afar off, than when enjoyed and gazed upon in a near diſtance.

If death be good, why ſhould it be feared? And if it be the work of nature, how ſhould it not be good? For nature is an Ordinance and Rule, which God hath eſtabliſhed in the creating this Univerſe (as is the Law of a King) which cannot err. Sith in him there is no impotency and weakneſs, by the which he might bring forth what is unperfect, no perverſeneſs of will, of which might proceed any vicious action, no ignorance by the which he might go wrong in working, being moſt powerful, moſt good, moſt wiſe, nay, all-wiſe, all-good, all-powerful; He is the firſt Orderer, and marſhalleth every other Order, the higheſt Eſſence, giving eſſence to all other things, of all cauſes the cauſe, he work-

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eth powerfully, bounteouſly, wiſely, and maketh (his Artificial Organ) nature do the ſame. How is not death of Nature? Sith what is naturally generate, is ſubject to corruption, and ſuch an harmony (which is life) riſing from the mixture of the four Elements, which are the Ingredients of our Body, cannot ever endure; the contrariety of their qualities (as a conſuming Ruſt in the baſer Metals) being an inward cauſe of a neceſſary diſſolution. Again, how is not death good? Sith it is the thaw of all thoſe vanities which the froſt of Life bindeth together. If there be a ſatiety in Life, then muſt there be a ſweetneſs in Death? The Earth were not ample enough to contain her off-ſpring if none died: in two or three Ages (without death) what an unpleaſant and lamentable Spectacle, were the moſt flouriſhing Cities? For what ſhould there be to be ſeen in them, ſave bodies languiſhing and courbing again into the Earth? pale disfigured faces, Skeletons inſtead of men? And what to be heard, but the exclamations of the young, complaints of the old, with the pittiful cries of ſick and pining Perſons? There is almoſt no infirmity worſe than age.

If there be any evil in death; it would appear to be that pain and torment, which we apprehend to ariſe from the breaking of thoſe ſtrait bands which keep the Soul and Body together; which, ſith not without great ſtuggling and motion, ſeems to prove it ſelf vehement and moſt extream. The ſenſes are the only cauſe of pain, but before the laſt Trances of Death, they are ſo brought under that they have no (or very little) ſtrength, and their ſtrength leſſening, the ſtrength of pain too muſt be leſſened. How ſhould we doubt, but the weakneſs of ſenſe leſſeneth pain, ſith we know that weakned and maimed parts that receive not nouriſhment, are

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a great deal leſs ſenſible, than the other parts of the body; And ſee that old decrepit perſons leave this World almoſt without pain, as in a ſleep? If bodies of the moſt ſound and wholſom conſtitution be theſe which moſt vehemently feel pain? It muſt then follow, that they of a diſtemperate and craſie conſtitution, have leaſt feeling of pain, and by this reaſon all weak and ſick bodies ſhould not much feel pain, for if they were not diſtempered and evil complexioned, they would not be ſick. That the Sight, Hearing, Taſte, Smelling leave us without pain, and unawares, we are undoubtedly aſſured, and why ſhould we not think the ſame of the Feeling? That which is capable of feeling, are the vital Spirits, which in a man in a perfect health are ſpread and extended through the whole body, and hence is it that the whole Body is capable of pain; but in dying bodies we ſee that by pauſes and degrees the parts which are furtheſt removed from the heart, become cold, and being deprived of natural heat, all the pain which they feel, is that they do feel no pain. Now, even as before the ſick are aware, the vital ſpirits have withdrawn themſelves from the whole extention of the body, to ſuccour the heart (like diſtreſſed Citizens which finding their walls battered down, fly to the defence of their Cittadel) ſo do they abandon the heart without any ſenſible touch: As the flame, the oyl failing, leaveth the wick, or as light the Air, which it doth inveſt. As to the ſhrinking motions, and convulſions of ſinews and members, which appear to witneſs great pain, let one repreſent to himſelf the ſtrings of an high tuned Lute, which breaking, retire to their natural windings, or a piece of Ice that without any outward violence cracketh at a Thaw: No otherwiſe do the ſinews of the body; finding themſelves ſlack and unbended

unbended from the brain, and their wonted labours and motions ceaſe, ſtruggle, and ſeem to ſtir themſelves, but without either pain or ſenſe. Swooning is a true Pourtrait of Death, or rather it is the ſame, being a ceſſation from all action, and function of ſenſe and life: but in Swooning there is no pain, but a ſilent reſt, and ſo deep and ſound a ſleep, that the natural is nothing in compariſon of it; what great pain then can there be in death, which is but a continual Swooning, and a never again returning to the works and dolorous felicity of life?

Now although death were an extream pain, ſith it is in an inſtant, what can it be? Why ſhould we fear it? For while we are, it cometh not, and it being come we are no more. Nay, though it were moſt painful, long continuing, and terrible, ugly why ſhould we fear it? Sith fear is a fooliſh paſſion but where it may preſerve; but it cannot preſerve us from Death, yea, rather the fear of it, baniſhing the comforts of preſent contentments, makes death to advance and approach the more near unto us. That is ever terrible which is unknown, ſo do little Children fear to go in the dark, and their fear is increaſed with tales.

But that perhaps which anguiſheth thee moſt, is to have this glorious pageant of the World, removed from thee, in the Spring and moſt delicious ſeaſon of thy life, for though to dye be uſual, to dye young may appear extraordinary. If the preſent fruition of theſe things be unprofitable and vain, what can a long continuance of them be? Stranger and new Halcyon, why wouldſt thou longer neſtle amidſt theſe unconſtant and ſtormy Waves? Haſt thou not already ſuffered enough of this World, but thou muſt yet endure more? To live long, is it not to be long troubled? But number thy years

which

which are now and thou ſhalt find, that whereas ten have overlived thee, thouſands have not attained this age. One year is ſufficient to behold all the magnificence of Nature, nay, even one day and night for more is but the ſame brought again. This Sun, that Moon, theſe Stars, the varying dance of the Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter, is that very ſame which the golden age did ſee. They which have the longeſt time lent them to live in, have almoſt no part of it at all, meaſuring it either by the ſpace of time which is paſt, when they were not, or by that which is to come: why ſhouldſt thou then care, whether thy days be many or few, which when prolonged to the uttermoſt, prove, paralleld with Eternity, as a Tear is to the Ocean? To dye young, is to do that ſoon, and in ſome fewer days, which once thou muſt do; it is the giving over of a Game that after never ſo many hazards, muſt be loſt. When thou haſt lived to that age thou deſireſt, or one of *Plato*'s years, ſo ſoon as the laſt of thy days riſeth above thy Horizon, thou wilt then as now, demand longer reſpit, and expect more to come. It is Hope of long life, that maketh life ſeem ſhort. Who will behold, and with the eye of advice behold the many changes attending on human affairs, with the after-claps of Fortune, ſhall never lament to dye young. Who knows what alterations and ſudden diſaſters, in outward eſtate or inward contentments, in this wilderneſs of the World, might have befallen him who dieth young, if he had lived to be old? Heaven fore-knowing imminent harms, taketh thoſe which it loves to it ſelf before they fall forth. Pure and (if we may ſo ſay) Virgin Souls, carry their bodies with no ſmall agonies, and delight not to remain long in the dregs of human corruption, ſtill burning with a deſire to turn back

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to the place of their reſt, for this World is their Inn, and not their Home. That which may fall forth every hour, cannot fall out of time. Life is a Journey in a duſty way, the furtheſt Reſt is Death, in this ſome go more heavily burdened than others: ſwift and active Pilgrims come to the end of it in the Morning or at Noon, which Tortoiſe-paced Wretches, clogged with the fragmentary rubbidge of this World, ſcarce with great travel crawl unto at Midnight. Days are not to be eſteemed after the number of them, but after the goodneſs: more compaſs maketh not a Sphear more compleat, but as round is a little as a large Ring; nor is that Muſitian moſt praiſe-worthy who hath longeſt played, but he in meaſured accents who hath made ſweeteſt melody, to live long hath often been a let to live well. Muſe not how many years thou mighteſt have enjoyed life, but how ſooner thou mighteſt have loſſed it, neither grudge ſo much that it is no better, as comfort thy ſelf that it hath been no worſe: let it ſuffice that thou haſt lived till this day, and (after the courſe of this World) not for nought, thou haſt had ſome ſmiles of fortune, favours of the worthieſt, ſome friends and thou haſt never been diſfavoured of the Heaven.

Though not for life it ſelf, yet that to after-worlds thou mighteſt leave ſome monument that once thou waſt, happily in the clear light of Reaſon, it would appear that life were earneſtly to be deſired: for ſith it is denied us to live ever (ſaid one) let us leave ſome worthy Remembrance of our once here being, and draw out this Span of life to the greateſt length, and ſo far as is poſſible. O poor ambition! To what I pray thee mayeſt thou concreded it? Arches and ſtately Temples, which one age doth raiſe, doth not another raze, Tombs and adopted Pillars, lye buried with thoſe which were in them buried:

ried: Hath not Avarice defaced, what Religion did make glorious? All that the hand of man can uprear, is either overturned by the hand of man, or at length by ſtanding and continuing conſumed, as if there were a ſecret oppoſition in fate, the unevitable decree of the Eternal, to controul our induſtry, and conter-check all our devices and propoſing. Poſſeſſions are not enduring, Children loſe their names, Families glorying (like Marigolds in the Sun) on the higheſt top of Wealth and Honour (no better than they which are not yet born) leaving off to be; So doth Heaven confound what we endeavour by labour and art to diſtinguiſh. That renown by Papers, which is thought to make men immortal, and which neareſt doth approach the life of theſe eternal bodies above, how ſlender it is, the very word of Paper doth import, and what is it when obtained, but a multitude of words, which coming Times may ſcorn. How many millions never hear the names of the moſt famous Writers, and amongſt them to whom they are known, how few turn over their pages, and of ſuch as do, how many ſport at their conceits, taking the verity for a fable, and oft a fable for verity, or (as we do pleaſants) uſe all for recreation? Then the ariſing of more famous, doth darken, and turn ignoble the glory of the former, being held as garments worn out of faſhion. Now, when thou haſt attained what praiſe thou couldſt deſire, and thy fame is emblazon'd in many Stories, it is but an Eccho, a meer Sound, a Glow-worm, which ſeen afar, caſteth ſome cold beams, but approached is found nothing, an imaginary happineſs, whoſe good depends on the opinion of others: Deſert and Virtue for the moſt part want Monuments and Memory, ſeldom are recorded in the Volumes of admiration, while Statues and Tro-

phies,

phies, are erected to thoſe, whoſe names ſhould have been buried in their duſt, and folded up in the darkeſt clouds of oblivion: So do the rank Weeds in this Garden of the World choak and over-run the ſweeteſt Flowers. Applauſe whilſt thou liveſt, ſerveth but to make thee that fair mark againſt which Envy and Malice direct their Arrows, at beſt is like that Syracuſians Sphear of Chryſtal, as frail as fair: and born after thy death, it may as well be aſcribed, to ſome of thoſe were in the Trojan Horſe, or to ſuch as are yet to be born an hundred years hereafter, as to thee, who nothing knows, and is of all unknown. What can it avail thee to be talked of, whilſt thou art not? Conſider in what bounds our fame is confined, how narrow the liſts are of human Glory, and the furtheſt ſhe can ſtretch her wings. This Globe of the Earth which ſeemeth huge to us, in reſpect of the Univerſe, and compared with that wide pavilion of Heaven, is leſs than little, of no ſenſible quantity, and but as a point: for the Horizon which boundeth our ſight, divideth the Heaven as in two halfs, having always ſix of the *Zodiack* ſigns above, and as many under it, which if the Earth had any quantity compared to it, it could not do. More, if the Earth were not as a point, the Stars could not ſtill in all parts of it appear to us of a like greatneſs; for where the Earth raiſed it ſelf in Mountains, we being more near to Heaven, they would appear to us of a greater quantity; and where it is humbled in Vallies, we being further diſtant they would ſeem unto us leſs; But the Stars in all parts of the Earth appearing of a like greatneſs, and to every part of it the Heaven imparting to our ſight the half of its inſide, we muſt avouch it to be but as a point. Well did one compare it to an Ant-hill, and men (the Inhabitants)

to ſo many Piſmires and Graſhoppers, in the toil and variety of their diverſifyed ſtudies. Now of this ſmall indiviſible thing, thus compared, how much is covered with Waters? How much not at all diſcovered? How much unhabited and deſart? And how many millions of millions are they, which ſhare the Remnant amongſt them, in Languages, Cuſtoms, Divine Rites differing, and all almoſt to others unknown? But let it be granted that glory and Fame are ſome great matter, and can reach Heaven it ſelf, ſith they are oft buried with the honoured, and paſs away in ſo fleet a revolution of time, what great good can they have in them? How is not glory Temporal, if it increaſe with years and depend on time? Then imagine me (for what cannot imagination reach unto?) One could be famous in all times to come, and over the whole World preſent, yet ſhall he ever be obſcure and ignoble to thoſe mighty Ones, which were only heretofore eſteemed famous amongſt the *Aſſyrians*, *Perſians*, *Romans*. Again the vain affectation of man is ſo ſuppreſſed, that though his Works abide ſome ſpace, the Worker is unknown: the huge *Egyptian* Pyramides, and that Grot in *Pauſilipo*, though they have wreſtled with time, and worn upon the waſte of Days, yet are their Authors no more known, than it is known by what ſtrange Earth-quakes, and Deluges, Iſles were divided from the Continent; or Hills burſted forth of the Valleys. Days, Months, and Years are ſwallowed up in the great gulf of time (which puts out the eyes of all their glory) and only a fatal oblivion remains; of ſo many ages paſt, we may well figure to our ſelves likely apparences, but can affirm little certainty.

But (my ſoul) what ailes the to be thus backward and aſtoniſhed at the remembrance of Death

ſith

ſith it doth not reach thee, more than darkneſſe doth thoſe far-ſhining Lamps above? Rowſe thy ſelf for ſhame; why ſhouldſt thou fear to be without a body, ſith thy maker and the ſpiritual and ſuper-celeſtial Inhabitants have no bodies? Haſt thou ever ſeen any Priſoner, who when the Jail Gates were broken up, and he enfranchiſed and ſet looſe, would rather plain and ſit ſtill on his Fetters, than ſeek his freedom? Or any Mariner, who in the midſt of Storms arriving near the Shore, would launch fourth again into the Main, rather than ſtrike Sail and joyfully enter the leas of a ſafe Harbour? If thou rightly know thy ſelf, thou haſt but ſmall cauſe of anguiſh; for if there be any reſemblance, of by that which is infinite, in what is finite (which yet by an infinit imperfection is from it diſtant) if thou be not an Image, thou art a ſhadow of that unſearchable Trinity. in thy three eſſential Powers, Underſtanding, Will, Memory; which though three, are in thee but one, and abiding one, are diſtinctly three: But in nothing more comeſt thou near that Soveraign Good, than by thy perpetuity, which who ſtrive to improve, by that ſame do it prove: Like thoſe that by arguing themſelves to be without reaſon, by the very arguing, ſhew how they have ſome. For, who can what is wholly mortal, more known what is immortal, than the eye can know ſounds, or the ear queſtion about colours; if one had eyes, who would ever deſcant of light or Sorrow? To thee nothing in this viſible World is comparable; thou art ſo wounderful a beauty and ſo beautiful a wonder, that if but once thou couldſt be gazed upon by bodily eyes, every heart would be inflamed with thy love, and raviſhed from all ſervile baſeneſſe and earthly deſires. Thy being depends not on matter, hence by thine underſtanding, doeſt thou dive into the being of

every other thing; and therein art ſo pregnant, that nothing by place, ſimilitude, ſubject, time, is ſo conjoined, which thou canſt not ſeperate; as what neither is, nor any ways can exiſt, thou canſt fain, and give an abſtract being unto. Thou ſeemeſt a World in thy ſelf, containing Heaven, Starres, Seas, Earth, Floods, Mountains, Foreſts, and all that liveth: yet reſt thou not ſatiate with what is in thy ſelf, nor with all in the wide Univerſe, until thou raiſe thy ſelf, to the contemplation of that firſt illuminating Intelligence, far above time, and even reaching Eternity it ſelf, into which thou art transformed, for by receiving, thou (beyond all other things) art made that which thou receiveſt. The more thou knoweſt, the more apt thou art to know, not being amated with any object that excelleth in predominance, as ſenſe by objects ſenſible Thy Will is uncompellable, reſiſting force, daunting Neceſſity, deſpiſing Danger, triumphing over affliction, unmoved by pitty, and not conſtrained by all the toyls and diſaſters of life. What the Arts-maſter of this Univerſe is in governing this Univerſe, thou art in the body; and as he is wholly in every part of it, ſo art thou wholly in every part of the body. By thee man is that *Hymen* of eternal and mortal things, that chain together binding unbodied and bodily ſubſtances, without which the goodly Fabrick of this World were unperfect. Thou haſt not thy beginning from the fecundity, power, nor action of the elemental qualities, being an immediate maſter piece of that great Maker. Hence haſt thou the forms and figures of all things imprinted in thee from thy firſt Original. Thou onley at once art capable of contraries, of the three parts of time, thou makeſt but one. Thou knoweſt thy ſelf ſo ſeparate, abſolute and diverſe an eſſence from thy body, that thou diſpoſſeſſed of it as it pleaſeth

th thee, for in the there is no paſſion ſo weak which maſtereth not the fear of leaving it. Thou ſhouldſt be ſo far from repining at this ſeparation, that it ſhould be the chief of thy deſires, ſith it is the paſſage and means to attain thy perfection and happineſs. Thou art here but as an infected and leprous Inn, plunged in a floud of humours, oppreſſed with cares, ſuppreſſed with ignorance, defiled and diſtained with vice, retrograde in the courſe of virtue; ſmall things ſeem here great unto thee, and great things ſmall, folly appeareth wiſedom, and wiſedom folly, Freed of thy fleſhly care, thou ſhalt rightly diſcern the beauty of thy ſelf, and have perfect fruition of that all-ſufficient and all-ſufficing Happineſs, which is GOD himſelf; to whom thou oweſt thy being, to him thou oweſt thy well being, he and happineſs are the ſame. For, if GOD had not happineſs, he were not GOD, becauſe Happineſs is the higheſt and greateſt good: If then G O D have happineſs, it cannot be a thing differing from him; for if there were any thing in Him, deffering from him, he ſhould be an eſſence compoſed and not ſimple, more, what is differing in any thing, is either an accident or a part of it ſelf: In GOD Happineſs can not be an accident, becauſe he is not ſubject to any accidents, if it were a part of Him (ſince the part is before the whole) we ſhould be forced to grant, that ſome thing was before God. Bedded and bathed in theſe earthly, ordures thou canſt not come near this Soveraign Good, nor have any glimpſe of the afar-off dawning of his unceſſable brightneſs, no, not ſo much as the eyes of the Birds of the Night hath of the Sun. Think then by death, that thy ſhell is broken, and thou then but even hatched, that thou art a Pearl, raiſed from thy Mother to be enchaced in Gold, and that the death day of thy body, is thy birth day to Eternity.

Why ſhouldſt thou be fear-ſtroken, and diſcomforted, for thy parting from this mortal Bride thy body, ſith it is but for a time, and ſuch a time, as ſhe ſhall not care for, nor feel any thing in, nor thou have much need of her? Nay ſith thou ſhalt receive her again, more goodly and beautiful, than when in her fulleſt perfection thou enjoyed her; being by her abſence made like unto that Indian Chryſtal, which after ſome revolutions of ages is turned into pureſt Diamond. If the Soul be the Form of the Body, and the form ſeparated from the Matter of it, cannot ever ſo continue, but is inclined and diſpoſed to be reunited thereinto: What can let and hinder this deſire, but that ſome time it be accompliſhed, and obtaining the expected end, rejoin it ſelf again unto the Body? The Soul ſeparate hath a deſire, becauſe it hath a will, and knows it ſhall by this re-union receive perfection: too as the matter is diſpoſed, and inclineth to its form when it is without it, ſo would it ſeem that the Form ſhould be towards its matter in the abſence of it. How, is not the Soul the form of the body, ſith by it, it is, and is the beginning and cauſe of all the actions and functions of it: For, though in excellency it paſs every other form, yet doth not that excellency take from it the nature of a form? If the abiding of the Soul from the body be violent, then can it not be everlaſting, bnt have a regreſs: How is not ſuch an eſtate of being and abiding not violent to the Soul, if it be natural to it, to be in matter, and (ſeparate) after a ſtrange manner, many of the powers and faculties, of it (which never leave it) are not duly exerciſed? This Union ſeemeth not above the Horizon of natural Reaſon, far leſs impoſſible to be done by God, and though Reaſon cannot evidently here demonſtrate, yet hath ſhe a miſty and groping notice. If the body ſhall not

ariſe

ariſe, how can the onely and Soveraign Good, be perfectly and infinitely good? For, how ſhall he be juſt, nay, have ſo much juſtice as Man, if he ſuffer the evil and vicious, to have a more proſperous and happy life, than the followers of Religion and Virtue; which ordinarily uſeth to fall forth in this life? For, the moſt wicked are Lords and Gods of this Earth, ſleeping in the lee port of honour, as if the ſpacious habitation of the World had been made onely for them; and the virtuous and good, are but forlorn caſt-awaies: floting in the ſurges of diſtreſs, ſeeming here either of the eye of providence not pittied, or not regarded: being ſubject to all diſhonors, wrongs, wracks, in their beſt eſtate, paſſing away their daies (like the *Dazies* in the field) in ſilence and contempt. Sith then he is moſt good, moſt juſt, of neceſſity there muſt be appointed by him another time and place of retribution, in the which there ſhall be a reward for living well, and a puniſhment for doing evil, with a life whereinto both ſhall receive their due, and not onely in their Soules diveſted, for, ſith both the parts of man did act a part in the right or wrong, it carrieth great reaſon with it, that they both be arraigned before that high Juſtice, to receive their own: Man is not a Soul only, but a Soul and body, to which either guerdon or puniſhment is due. This ſeemeth to be the voice of Nature in almoſt all the Religions of the world; this is that general teſtimony, charactered in the minds of the moſt barbarous and ſavage people, all have had ſome roving gueſſes at ages to come, and a dim duskiſh light of another life, all appealing to one general Judgment Throne. To what elſe could ſerve ſo many expiations, ſacrifices, prayers, ſolemnities, and myſtical Ceremonies? To what ſuch ſumptuous Temples, and care of the Death?

To

To what all Religion? If not to ſhew that they expected a more excellent manner of being, after the navigation of this life did take an end. And who doth deny it, muſt deny that there is a Providence, a God, confeſs that his Worſhip, and all ſtudy and reaſon of virtue are vain; and not believe that there is a World, are Creatures, and that He himſelf is not what He is.

As thoſe Images were Pourtraicted in my mind (the morning Star now almoſt ariſing in the Eaſt) I found my thoughts mild and quiet calm; and not long after, my ſenſes one by one forgetting their uſes, began to give themſelves over to reſt, leaving me in a ſtill and peaceable ſleep; if ſleep it may be called, where the mind awaking is carried with free wings from out fleſhly bondage? For heavy lids had not long covered their lights, when I thought, nay, ſure I was where I might diſcern all in this great *All*, the large compaſs of the rolling Circles, the brightneſs and continual motion of thoſe Rubies of the Night, (which by their diſtance) here below cannot be perceived; the ſilver countenance of the wandring Moon, ſhining by anothers light, the hanging of the Earth as (environed with a girdle of Chryſtal) the Sun enthronized in the midſt of the Planets, eye of the Heavens, Gem of this precious Ring the World. But whilſt with wonder and amazement I gazed on thoſe Celeſtial ſplendors, and the beaming Lamps of that glorious Temple, there was preſented to my ſight a Man, as in the Spring of his years, with that ſelf-ſame grace, comely feature, Majeſtick look which the late ( ) was wont to have; on whom I had no ſooner ſet mine eyes, when (like one Planet-ſtroken) I became amazed: But he with a mild demeanour, and voice ſurpaſſing all human ſweetneſs, appeared (me thought) to ſay; What

What is it doth thus anguiſh and trouble thee? Is it the remembrance of Death, the laſt Period of Wretchedneſs, and entry to theſe happy places; the Lantern which lightneth men to ſee the myſtery of the bleſſedneſs of Spirits, and that glory which tranſcendeth the Courtain of things viſible? Is thy Fortune below on that dark Globe (which ſcarce by the ſmalneſs of it appeareth here) ſo great, that thou art heart-broken and dejected to leave it? What if thou wert to leave behind thee a ( ) ſo glorious in the eye of the World (yet but a Mote of Duſt encircled with a Pond) as that of mine, ſo loving ( ) ſuch great hopes, theſe had been apparent occaſions of lamenting, and but apparent? Doſt thou think thou leaveſt Life too ſoon? Death is beſt young; things fair and excellent, are not of long endurance upon Earth. Who liveth well liveth long. Souls moſt beloved of their Maker, are ſooneſt relieved from the bleeding cares of Life, and and moſt ſwiftly wafted through the Surges of Human miſeries. Opinion that Great Enchantreſs and poiſer of things, not as they are but as they ſeem, hath not in any thing more, than in the conceit of Death abuſed man: Who muſt not meaſure himſelf, and eſteem his eſtate, after his earthly being, which is but as a dream: For, though he be born on the Earth, he is not born for the Earth, more than the Embryon for the Mothers Womb. It plaineth to be delivered of its bands, and to come to the light of this World; and Man waileth to be looſed from the Chains with which he is fettered in that vale of vanities. It nothing knoweth whither it is to go, nor ought of the beauty of the viſible works of God, neither doth man of the magnificence of the Intellectual World above, unto which (as by a Mid-wife) he is directed by Death. Fools, which

which think that this fair and admirable Frame, ſo variouſly diſpoſed, ſo rightly marſhalled, ſo ſtrongly maintained, enriched with ſo many excellencies, not only for neceſſity, but for ornament and delight, was by that Supream wiſdom brought forth, that all things in a circulary courſe, ſhould be and not be, ariſe and diſſolve, and thus continue: as if they were ſo many Shadows caſt out and cauſed by the encountring of theſe Superior Celeſtial bodies, changing only their faſhion and ſhape, or Fantaſtical Imageries, or prints of faces into Chryſtal. No, no, the Eternal Wiſdom hath made man an excellent creature, though he fain would unmake himſelf, and return to nothing: And though he ſeek his felicity among the reaſonleſs Wights, he hath fixed it above. Look how ſome Prince or great King on the Earth, when he hath raiſed any Stately City, the work being atchieved, is wont to ſet his Image in the midſt of it, to be admired and gazed upon: No otherwiſe did the Soveraign of this All, the Fabrick of it perfected, place man (a great Miracle) formed to his own pattern, in the midſt of this ſpacious and admirable City. God containeth all in him as the beginning of all; man containeth all in him as the midſt of all; inferior things be in man more noble than they exiſt; ſuperior things more meanly; Celeſtial things favour him, earthly things are vaſſalled unto him, he is the band of both; neither is it poſſible but that both of them have peace with him, who made the Covenant between them and him. He was made that he might in the Glaſs of the World behold the infinite Goodneſs, Power and glory of his Maker, and beholding know and knowing Love, and loving enjoy, and to hold the Earth of him as of his Lord Parmount; never ceaſing to remember and praiſe Him. It exceedeth

ceedeth the compaſs of conceit, to think that that wiſdom which made every thing ſo orderly in the parts, ſhould make a confuſion in the whole, and the chief Maſter-piece; how bringing forth ſo many excellencies for man, it ſhould bring forth man for baſeneſs and miſery. And no leſs ſtrange were it, that ſo long life ſhould be given to Trees, Beaſts, and the Birds of the Air, Creatures inferior to Man, which have leſs uſe of it, and which cannot judge of this goodly Fabrick, and that it ſhould not be denied to Man: unleſs there were another manner of living prepared for him, in a place more noble and excellent.

But alas! (ſaid I) had it not been better that for the good of his native Countrey a ( ) endued with ſo many peerleſs gifts, had yet lived? How long will ye (replyed he) like the Ants, think there are no fairer Palaces, than their Hills; or like to purblind Moles, no greater light, than that little which they ſhun? As if the Maſter of a Camp, knew when to remove a Sentinel, and he who placeth Man on the Earth, knew not how long he had need of him? Every one cometh there to act his part of this Tragi-Comedy, called life, which done, the Courtain is drawn, and he removing is ſaid to dye. That Providence which preſcribeth Cauſes to every event hath not only determined a definite and certain number of days, but of actions to all men, which they cannot go beyond.

Moſt ( ) then anſwered I, Death is not ſuch an evil and pain, as it is of the Vulgar eſteemed? Death (ſaid he) nor painful is, nor evil (except in contemplation of the cauſe) being of it ſelf as indifferent as birth: yet can it not be denied, and amidſt thoſe dreams of earthly pleaſures, the uncouthneſs of it, with the wrong apprehenſion of what

what is unknown in it, are noyſom. But the Soul ſuſtained by its Maker, reſolved, and calmly retired in it ſelf, doth find that death (ſith it is in a moment of Time) is but a ſhort, nay, ſweet ſigh; and is not worthy the remembrance compared with the ſmalleſt dram of the infinite Felicity of this Place. Here is the Palace Royal of the Almighty King, in which the uncomprehenſible comprehenſibly manifeſteth Himſelf; in place higheſt, in ſubſtance not ſubject to any corruption or change, for it is above all motion, and ſolid turneth not; in quantity greateſt, for, if one Star, one Sphere be ſo vaſt, how large, how huge in exceeding demenſions, muſt thoſe bounds be, which do them all contain? In quality moſt pure and orient, Heaven here is all but a Sun, or the Sun all but a Heaven. If to Earthlings the Foot-ſtool of God, and that Stage which he raiſed for a ſmall courſe of Time, ſeemeth ſo glorious and magnificent; What eſtimation would they make, if they could ſee, of his eternal Habitation and Throne? And if theſe be ſo wonderful, what is the ſight of him, for whom and by whom all was created; of whoſe Glory to behold the thouſand thouſand part, the moſt pure Intelligences are fully ſatiate, and with wonder and delight reſt amazed, for the beauty of his light, and the light of his beauty are uncomprehenſible? Here doth that earneſt appetite of the underſtanding content it ſelf, not ſeeking to know any more; For it ſeeth before it, in the viſion of the Divine eſſence (a Mirrour in the which not Images or Shadows, but the true and perfect eſſence of every thing created, is more clear and conſpicuous, than in it ſelf) all that may be known or underſtood. Here doth the Will pauſe it ſelf, as in the center of its eternal reſt, glowing with with a fiery affection of that infinite and al-ſufficient good;

good; which being fully known, cannot (for the infinite motives and cauſes of love which are in him) but be fully and perfectly loved: As he is only the true and eſſential Bounty, ſo is he the only eſſential and true beauty, deſerving alone all Love and Admiration, by which the Creatures are only in ſo much fair and excellent, as they participate of his Beauty and excelling Excellencies. Here is a bleſſed Company, every one joying as much in anothers Felicity, as in that which is proper, becauſe each ſeeth another equally loved of God; thus their diſtinct joyes are no fewer, than the copartners of the Joy. And as the Aſſembly is in number anſwerable to the large capacity of the place, ſo are the joyes anſwerable to the numberleſs number of the Aſſembly. No poor and pittiful mortal, confined on the Globe of Earth, who have never ſeen but ſorrow, or interchangeably ſome painted ſuperficial pleaſures, can rightly think on, or be ſufficient to conceive the termleſs delights of this place. So many Feathers move not on Birds, ſo many Birds dint not the Air, ſo many leaves tremble not on Trees, ſo many Trees grow not in the ſolitary Foreſts, ſo many waves turn not in the Ocean, and ſo many grains of Sand limit not thoſe Waves: as this triumphant Court hath variety of delights, and Joyes exempted from all compariſon. Happineſs at once here is fully known and fully enjoyed, and as infinite in continuance as extent. Here is flouriſhing and never-fading youth without Age, Strength without Weakneſs, Beauty never blaſting, Knowledge without Learning, Abundance without Loathing, Peace without Diſturbance, Participation without Envy, Reſt without Labour, Light without riſing or ſeeting Sun, Perpetuity without moments, for Time (which is the meaſure of Endurance) did never

enter

enter in this ſhining Eternity. Ambition, Diſdain, Malice, Difference of Opinions, cannot approach this place, and reſembling thoſe foggy Miſts, which cover thoſe Liſts of Sublunary things. All pleaſure paragon'd with what is here is pain, all Mirth mourning, all Beauty deformity. Here one daies abiding, is above the continuing in the moſt fortunate eſtate on the Earth many years, and ſufficient to countervail the extreameſt torments of Life. But, although this Bliſs of *Souls* be great, and their joyes many, yet ſhal they admit Addition, and be more full and perfect, at that long wiſhed and general meeting with their bodies

Amongſt all the wonders of the great Creator, not one appeareth to be more wounderful (replied I) than that our Bodies ſhould ariſe, having ſuffered ſo many changes, and nature denying a return from privation to a Habit.

Such power (ſaid he) being above all that the Underſtanding of Man can conceive, may well work ſuch wonders; For if Mans Underſtanding could comprehend all the ſecrets and councels of that Eternal Majeſty, it muſt of neceſſity be equal unto it. The Author of Nature is not thralled to the Laws of Nature, but worketh with them or contrary to them, as it pleaſeth him: What he hath a will to do, he hath a power to perform. To that, power which brought all this *All* from nought, to bring again in one inſtant any ſubſtance which ever was into it, unto what it was once, ſhould not be thought impoſſible; for who can do more can do leſs, and his power is no leſs after that which was by him brought forth is decayed and vaniſhed, than it was before it was produced; being neither reſtrained to certain limits, or inſtruments, or to any determinate and definite manner of working; where the power is without reſtraint, the work admitteth no other limits, than the Workers

Workers will. This world is as a Cabinet to God, in which the small things (however to us hid and secret) are nothing less kept than the great. For, as he was wise and powerful to create, so doth his knowledge comprehend his own Creation; yea every change and variety in it, of which it is the very Source. Not any Atom of the scatter'd Dust of mankind, though daily flowing under new forms, is to him unknown: and his knowledge doth distinguish and discern, what once his power shall waken and rise up. Why may not the Arts-Master of the world, like a Molder, what he hath framed in divers shapes, confound in one mass, and then severally fashion them out of the same? Can the Spargirick by his Art restore for a space to the dry and withered Rose, the natural purple and blush; and cannot the Almighty raise and refine the body of man, after never so many alterations on the Earth? Reason her self finds it more possible for infinit power to cast out from it self a finit world, and restore any thing in it; though decaied and dissolved, to what it was first; than for man, a finit piece of reasonable misery, to change the form of matter made to his hand; the power of God never brought forth all that it can, for then were it bounded, and no more infinite. That time doth approach (O hast ye times away) in which the dead shall live, and the living be changed, and of all actions the Guerdon is at hand; then shall there be an end without an end, time shall finish, and place shall be altered, motion yielding unto rest, and another world of an age eternal and unchangeable shall arise; which when he had said (me thought) he vanished, and I all astonished did awake.

To the Memory of the moſt Excellent Lady, JANE Counteſs of *Perth.*

THis Beauty which Pale death in duſt did turn,
And clos'd ſo ſoon within a Coffin ſad,
Did, paſs like lightning, like to thunder burn:
So little Life, ſo much of Worth it had.

Heavens but to ſhew their Might here made it ſhine,
And when admir'd, then in the Worlds diſdain
(O Tears, O Grief!) did call it back again,
Leſt Earth ſhould vaunt ſhe kept what was Divine.

What can we hope for more? What more enjoy?
Sith faireſt Things thus ſooneſt have their End,
And, as on Bodies Shadows do attend,
Sith all our bliſs is follow'd with Annoy?

Yet She's not dead, She lives where She did love,
Her Memory on Earth, Her ſoul above.

To

To S. W. A.

THough I have twice been at the doors of Death,
And twice found ſhut thoſe gates which ever mourn,
This but a lightning is, Truce tane to Breath,
For late-born Sorrows augurre fleet return.

Amidſt thy ſacred Cares, and Courtly Toils,
Alexis, *when thou ſhalt hear wandring Fame*
Tell, Death hath triumph'd o're my mortal ſpoils,
And that on Earth I am but a ſad Name;

If thou e're held me dear, by all our Love,
By all that Bliſs, thoſe Joys Heaven here us gave,
I conjure thee, and by the Maids of Jove,
To grave this ſhort Remembrance on my Grave.

Here *Damon* lies, whoſe Songs did ſometime grace
The murmuring *Eſk*, may Roſes ſhade the place.

On

On the Report of the Death of the Author.

IF that were true which whiſpered is by Fame,
That Damons *light no more on Earth doth burn,*
His Patron Phœbus *Phyſick would diſclaim*
And cloth'd in clouds as erſt for Phaeton *mourn.*

Yea, Fame *by this had got ſo deep a wound,*
That ſcarce She could have Power to tell his death,
Her Wings cut ſhort; who could her Trumpet ſound,
Whoſe blaze of late was nurs'd but by his Breath.

That Spirit of his which moſt with mine was free,
By mutual traffick enterchanging ſtore,
If chac'd from him it would have come to me,
Where it ſo oft familiar was before.

Some ſecret Grief diſtempring firſt my Mind,
Had (though not knowing) made me feel this loſs;
A Sympathy had ſo our Souls combind,
That ſuch a parting both at once would toſs.

Though ſuch Reports to others terrour give,
Thy Heavenly Virtues who did never ſpy,
I know thou, that canſt make the dead to live,
Immortal art, and needs not fear to dye.

Sir WILL. ALEXANDER.

FINIS.